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July 1889.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—INDIA AND RUSSIA: TYPICAL SOVEREIGNS.

HAS any one ever compared India with Russia? If so, he must have been struck by many coincidences and many contrasts. Each country may be described as a continent or large promontory; the one stretching southward from the heart of Asia into the Indian Ocean, and the other eastward from the heart of Europe into the unexplored wastes between the Altai mountains and Arctic seas. Each consists of vast plains watered by great rivers. Each was little known or trodden by the outer world until modern times. Each was occupied by mixed races speaking different tongues, and apparently distributed into feudal principalities more or less dependent on an "Overlord," Grand Prince, or Maharaja. But here the coincidences cease and the contrasts begin. For centuries Russia has been cultivating Europe and winning a distinguished place amongst the Great European Powers. She has been governed down to our own times by a long and almost unbroken line of sovereigns, who date back to the ninth century when Rurik, the Scandinavian hero, founded a kingdom at Novgorod, and began to found a Russian Empire under the title of "Grand Prince." India on the other hand is Asiatic to this day. Her history is one of subjection to successive hordes of conquerors which have swept away the ancient dynasties of Maharajas, so that scarcely a relic remains. She has been shut out from

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European politics until the present century when she has been thrown open to the commerce of the world, and brought under the immediate sovereignty of the Empress-Queen.

The comparison of India with Russia becomes still more surprising if we bring their respective heroes face to face. Those of India as well as those of Russia are all more or less Moghul; and all have a family likeness to each other, as well as to the Moghul heroes of antiquity, Chenghiz Khan and Timur. Those of India may have had a different training and different surroundings to those of Russia, but otherwise the relationship is perfect. Their names are familiar to most readers. On the side of India were Asoka, Akbar, and Aurangzebe; on the side of Russia were Vladimir, Ivan the Terrible, and Peter the Great. To them might perhaps be added the Emperor Nicholas and Lord Dalhousie; but the Russian and the Briton might object to being included under the head of Moghul, although each in turn was as absolute and autocratic as any Grand Cham of Tartary or Great Moghul of Hindustan. The literary experiment of drawing parallels between the Russian and the Indian types can however work no harm, and may serve as a contribution to the general stock of knowledge of human nature, whilst throwing additional light on the relative conditions of India and Russia in days gone by. We begin with Asoka and Vladimir. Both were Saints and Sovereigns. Asoka was the Maharaja of India who reigned at Patna on the banks of the Ganges. Vladimir was the Grand Prince of Russia who reigned at Kieff on the banks of the Dnieper. Asoka flourished thirteen centuries before Vladimir. Each reign however represents a revolution in religious thought, and such movements are not to be measured by chronology. They are the outcome of collisions of ideas which may have been at work for unknown ages. Time beats no pendulum for gods or priests, heroes or prophets, any more than it does for earthquakes or volcanoes; or for convulsions that follow the noiseless work of thousands of years, and break up the world into continents and seas.

In like manner Time keeps no record of changes in faith and worship, which may have been seething for ages beneath the surface of humanity. Suddenly there may be an epoch. New ideas illuminate the world like the teachings of Moses amidst the thunders of Sinai, or the Sermon on the Mount after the forty days fasting in the wilderness. The beginning of such a movement is a mystery, like the creation of the world or the origin of man, and the end is equally unknown. It may have been from everlasting to everlasting, but in the world's history it appears as an evolution without beginning and without end.

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The popular conceptions of Asoka and Vladimir are simple and intelligible. Asoka was a king of Hindustan who laboured in the third century before Christ to convert Hindus from Brahmanism to Buddhism. Vladimir in like manner was the king of Southern Russia, who flourished in the tenth century of the Christian era, and has the credit of converting Russia to Christianity. Yet who shall say that the spirit of Christianity was unknown to Asoka, or that the fire of Buddhism may not have been burning in the heart of Vladimir?

Asoka, according to tradition, was king of Magadha, the modern Behar. His capital was at Patali-putra, on or near the site of the modern Patna. He founded an empire which extended over Northern India from the mountains of Cashmere to the Bay of Bengal and the banks of the Godavery. He was a man of blood. He gained the throne of Magadha by the slaughter of his brethren, a tragedy which was common enough in Asiatic history until modern times, when it has been suppressed by European influences. For many years Asoka followed the religion of the Brahmans. Hecatombs of animals were sacrified daily to the gods, or slaughtered in the royal kitchens to furnish dishes for the royal tables. He was converted to Buddhism, and proclaimed the main ordinances of Buddhism, which affected the daily life of the masses, and appealed direct to their imaginations and passions,—"Henceforth no animals whatever shall be slain in my dominions, whether for daily food or for sacrifices to the gods." Like converts in general, Asoka was zealous for the promulgation of the new religion. His edicts for enforcing the duties of loving kindness, and proclaiming the rewards of virtue, were engraved on the rocks in different parts of his empire and remain there to this day.

His conversion to Buddhism may have been brought about by pangs of conscience, resulting in a sincere repentance for the slaughter of his brethren, and the daily bloodshed in the royal kitchens. But the history of the Buddhist Kings of Burma does not confirm these inferences. Those who have been zealous for the three gems have often been deeply steeped in the blood of their nearest kinsmen. The most reasonable conclusion is that the conversion to Buddhism was a mere political idea, a determination to put an end to the worship of different gods, and bring the people of India under one faith and worship. Asoka however was animated throughout by a spirit of toleration which has always distinguished the Moghul from the Arab. He did not persecute the Brahmans; he did not even denounce them. He simply proclaimed that henceforth no more animals should be slaughtered for food or sacrifice; and that all priests and pastors, whtever might be their religious tenets, should be reverenced by all classes of

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the community. The result was the triumph of Buddhism; the establishment of a State Church which lingered in India down to the later years of Mohammedan conquest, and involved a general abstinence from all flesh meat and bloody sacrifices. To this day this pure morality burns in the hearts of the people of India. They have adhered to their old caste distinctions, and they bind their children for life in infant marriages for the preservation of caste; but the middle classes of Hindoos, especially those in the rural districts, are as pure, as moral, and as kind-hearted in their domestic lives as any people under the sun. Such at any rate was the result of the religion of Asoka.

Vladimir, the Christian hero and saint of Russian tradition, was a potentate of a similar stamp. He was not only a man of blood, but licentious in his amours; and he is said to have been converted to the Greek Church by some fair Greek captives. This may have been true as regards himself. Indeed, women as a rule are more successful than priests in inducing men to accept a new religion. But Vladimir was bent upon bringing over the Russians generally to his new faith, and he pursued his design in a cold and calculating spirit which showed he was more of a statesman than a zealot. He appointed a commission of ten learned men to enquire into the relative merits of the four religions of the age, namely, Judaism, Latin Christianity, Greek Christianity, and Islam. The result may have been a foregone conclusion, but nevertheless the fact of a commission served to familiarise the people of Russia with the idea. Vladimir accepted the Greek Church as superior to the other religions, but found a difficulty in submitting himself to the rite of baptism. He declared war against the Greek Empire to ensure the proper performance of the rite consistent with his dignity as a sovereign; to induce the reigning Emperors, Basil and Constantine, to give him their sister in marriage; and to secure the services of Greek priests with all the necessary vessels and vestments for performing the services of the Greek Church at Kieff. The war was successful. The Russians eagerly engaged in it for the sake of plunder. Vladimir was baptised with great pomp, and duly married to the Greek Princess. The city of Kieff accepted Christianity without difficulty. The old idols were thrown into the river Dnieper, and the population of Kieff were baptised on one day in the same stream. The people of Russia were gradually converted to Greek Christianity, and Vladimir was a reformed character to the end of his days.

The results of this comparison of Asoka with Vladimir are necessarily obscure and incomplete. There is much that is suggestive, but there is also a lack of evidence which leaves

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much to mere conjecture. The remaining parallelisms belong to more modern history. But before comparing Russian types like Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, with Moghul types like Akbar and Aurangzebe, it will be necessary to glance at the Tartar convulsions which are associated with the names of Chenghiz Khan and Timur.

The details of wars and conquests of the past are dying out of history. The men themselves, the demigods or demons who changed the destinies of continents, are more deserving of study. Two hundred years after Vladimir, Chenghiz Khan, the Moghul conqueror of the stamp of Cyrus and Darius, took the world by storm. He was a destroying angel who created armies of Tartars to wreak his vengeance on humanity and civilization. His hosts were bound together by a discipline of iron and slaughter, and poured into China, Turkistan, and Russia, destroying cities and gardens, sacking palaces, and carrying off the fair daughters of the south to serve as slaves or favourites in the tents of Calmuck warriors. He and his successors, the Grand Chams of Marco Polo, exacted tribute from all the kings who submitted to the Moghul yoke, but their sons and grandsons quarrelled and warred amongst themselves, whilst their dominions slipped out of their hands. Timur of Samarkand restored the empire for a while, but after his death it was again broken up into rival camps, and Moghul, Turk, and Tartar became mingled and lost in hostile confusion.

The Moghuls had no prophet; they had no Moses like the Jews, no Mohammed like the Arabs and Turks. They fought for dominion and not for religion. As far as religion was concerned, they trampled on old creeds or tolerated all as best suited their temporal interests. They hated the Turks, not because the Turks were Mohammedans, but because they dwelt in cities and fortresses, and built palaces and planted gardens, where Moghuls and Tartars would have dwelt in tents and pastured their horses. In those days the Greek Empire of Constantinople was the prize which drew the Russian from the north and the Turk and Moghul from the far east. Russia sought to conquer it before the advent of Vladimir, but was driven back by the mysterious artillery known as Greek fire. The conversion of Vladimir was like oil on the troubled waters. His marriage with a Greek princess and the spread of the Greek Church from Kieff to Novgorod and Moscow, tended to quiet down hostilities which might otherwise have eventuated in the extension of the Russian Empire to the Mediterranean; meanwhile both Moghul and Turk were on the march for Byzantium. The Moghul invaded the Crimea and compelled the "Grand Prince" and his feudatories to pay homage and tribute. The Turk invaded Asia Minor, but was thwarted by

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the Crusaders, and failed to win the prize. In 1402 Bajazet, the Sultan of the Ottoman Turks, was besieging Constantinople. It was almost within his grasp, when Timur the Tartar invaded his dominions in Asia Minor. Timur was a Moghul of the stamp of Chenghiz Khan. He called himself a Mohammedan, but hated the Turk. He sided with the Christian Powers and carried away Bajazet in an iron cage amidst the rejoicings of Christendom.*

At this time Russia was struggling to throw off the yoke of the Moghul. The Khans were divided amongst themselves and lost their hold on Russia. Ivan the Great, Grand Duke of Muscovy, ceased to pay tribute to the Grand Cham of Tartary, and assumed the title of Czar of all the Russias. He sought out and married Sophia, the last princess of the Greek Imperial family of Byzantium. Henceforth the two-headed eagle of the Byzantine Emperors was assumed as the standard of the Russian Czar. But Ivan the Great was too late. The Greek had already been driven out by the Turk. In 1543 the Ottoman Turks were masters of Constantinople, and have remained there to this day. But for the Moghul invasion of Russia, Ivan the Great might have been the conqueror of Byzantium, but the time had gone by.

A century passed away. Ivan the Terrible, Czar of Russia, was reigning at Moscow; and Akbar, the Great Moghul of Hindustan, was reigning at Agra. Both sovereigns were contemporaries of Queen Elizabeth of England. Both were barbarians of the type of Chenghiz Khan, and both were endowed with the same genius for consolidating an empire, and the same recklessness of human life. But Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great stand first for consideration, for a study of their respective careers will explain much that is otherwise inexplicable in the revolutions which were brought about in India by Akbar and Aurangzebe.

Ivan the Terrible was a child of three when he succeeded to the throne at Moscow. For generations the policy of successive sovereigns of Russia had been to sow dissensions amongst the Tartar Khans, and to crush the Russian nobles or boyars. The mother of Ivan became regent, a wicked and unscrupulous princess, who was as unfit for the post as the mother of Dhuleep Singh was unfit for the regency of the Punjab. The boyars plotted against her; three uncles of Ivan engaged in the conspiracy, but were suddenly arrested and tortured to death. For

* The question of whether the story of the iron cage is a fable or a matter of fact is of small moment. Timur, as he is represented by his own court writers, and Timur as he stands out in authentic history, are two different persons. The writer confesses that he accepts the story of the iron cage as a matter of fact.

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five years the evil princess triumphed over the boyars, and was then carried off by poison. The regency was made over to a council of boyars, and there was a struggle for the President's chair. Meanwhile, the Tartars roved at will in the provinces, plundering and slaughtering. Ivan was brutally treated by his guardian, the President of the Regency, for the obvious purpose of disqualifying him for the throne. Ivan was growing up ignorant and vindictive, and his sufferings transformed him into a fiend. At the age of thirteen he murdered his guardian, and henceforth was encouraged to commit the most extravagant ferocities. At the age of eighteen he was crowned Czar of all the Russias.

Suddenly there was a change. A priest got hold of Ivan and prophesied the direst evils, unless he abandoned his cruelties and showed mercy. A young princess whom he had married worked upon his feelings. He ceased to be terrible to his subjects, and laboured to restore the empire. He drove the Tartars out of Russia. He fixed the serfs to the land and bound them over to military service. He created a new body-guard, known as the Select Legion, which was bound over to commit any atrocity he might command, and was afterwards known as the Strelitz, and was the foundation of the first regular standing army in Russia. He captured the Tartar city of Kazan, conquered Astrakhan, and added Siberia to the Russan Empire. He also did much for the good of his people, and it is a curious matter of fact, that the introduction of the printing press into Russia was the work of Ivan the Terrible.

When Ivan had dealt the last blow at Moghul ascendancy, and driven the last of the Tartar horsemen out of Russia, he found he had liberated a land without peasantry, and a peasantry without land. During the anarchy Russian nobles and agriculturists had alike degenerated into Tartars. The cultivators sowed crops which might at any time have been trampled down or destroyed by Tartar horsemen. No boyar cared to preserve the refinement of Western civilisation when his house might be burnt down, and his wife and daughters carried off as captives. The nobles had thrown off the mailed jacket and dressed like Tartar Khansf The peasantry, in like manner, had thrown off every vestige or European costume, and adopted the sheepskin and boots of their Tartar conquerors. The land fell out of cultivation, for none would sow who could not hope to reap; and the husbandmen formed themselves into bands, and roamed the country in Tartar fashion, until Russia had been delivered from the Moghul invaders. Then, indeed, the work of fixing the peasantry as serfs, and compelling them to till the fields and pay yearly rates, had become an imperial necessity.

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All his life Ivan the Terrible was troubled with the peasant question, but he did not live to solve the problem. That was the work of his successor, who sacrificed large tracts of crown lands and made them over to bands or communities, who in their turn distributed them in plots to heads of households and fixed them to the land. Such was the origin of the Russian Mir.

In 1560 Ivan lost his consort, the princess Anastatia. For thirteen years this illustrious lady had kept the demon within bounds. He lived twenty years after her death, and from first to last, throughout that period, he threw off all restraint and revealed his true nature as Ivan the Terrible. He dismissed the ministers who had helped him during the life of the Czarina. He was induced to believe that they had compassed her death. He banished them from Russia, and cruelly punished their partisans. He established a reign of terror, gloating over the sufferings of his victims and indulging in the worst vices. His march of extermination from Moscow to Novgorod, and his massacres at the two cities, are remembered to this day. There was no one to appease his wrath; he assumed to be God as well as Czar. He murdered his eldest son with his own hand, and left his empire to a younger son who was utterly unfit to rule. He died in 1580.

Peter the Great was more than than a hundred years later than Ivan the Terrible. The interval covered the seventeenth century. In England it corresponded to that between Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne. In India it corresponded to the rise of the Moghul Empire under Akbar and its decline under Aurangzebe. In England the seventeenth century was marked by the civil war between parliament and the crown, the execution of a king, the establishment of a commonwealth, the restoration of the Stuarts, and the revolution which brought in William of Orange.

In Russia the century was one of transition. Russia was no longer threatened by the Tartars on the side of Asia, but by Poland and Sweden on the side of Europe. Poland went so far as to espouse the cause of Dimitri the pretender to the Russian throne, to conduct him in triumph to Moscow with a Polish army, to give him a Polish princess in marriage, and to pledge him to establish Latin Christianity. Russia accepted the pretender, and Dimitri was crowned at Moscow, but the people revolted against Poland and the Pope. Their suspicions were awakened that Dimitri was an impostor; they drove the Poles out of Holy Russia, and murdered the false Czar. Eventually, the imperial crown was transferred from the house of Rurik to that of Romanoff. The Greek Church gave its warm support to Mikhail Romanoff, the new Czar, and

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founder of the new dynasty, and for a while was of equal authority with the sovereign, claiming supremacy in all spiritual matters, whilst occasionally interfering in more temporal concerns. Meanwhile the contests for the throne between rival pretenders to descent from Rurik were brought to a close. Henceforth the work of Russia was to resist the aggressions of Poland and Sweden, and become a European power.

Peter the Great was the third Czar of the house of Romanoff. His accession in 1689 was the beginning of the new era in which Russia ceased to be Asiatic and became European. Before this event Russia was as Asiatic as India. She had no regular force except household troops, known as the Strelitz, and they were often dangerous to the throne. She had no national army beyond the irregular levies of serfs which might be called into existence in the event of national danger. But these bodies of feudal peasantry were useless as a means of defence against the disciplined armies of a born general like Charles XII. of Sweden. They were mere masses of husbandmen, without training, ill-armed, and often half clothed and ill-fed. They were led by hereditary nobles, little better than Tartar Khans, who knew nothing of military service as it was understood by European powers. Worst of all Russia had no navy. Rurik, the first "Grand Prince" of Novgorod, was master of the Baltic. The fleet of Vladimir, the "Grand Prince" who reigned at Kieff, had scoured the Euxine, over-awed Constantinople, and ravaged the coasts of the Crimea. But the Moghul invasions from the eastward had drawn away Russia from the sea. Naval enterprise was abandoned for domestic wars against rival principalities and republics, and the endless struggles against Tartar invasions from the side of Asia. From the days of Chenghiz Khan to those of Timur, the Russians were, to all appearance, as averse to sea-voyages as the Hindus. Ivan the Terrible established a seaport at Archangel, but from his death in 1580 until the accession of Peter the Great, Archangel was the only port that Russia possessed, and that was only open to the White Sea and Arctic Ocean, and was consequently unnavigable for half the year.

Within the single reign of Peter the Great, a period of thirty-six years, extending from 1689 to 1725, the changes in Russia were so vast that it is difficult to realize them. The Strelitz formed a plot against his life and were literally destroyed. Peter then raised several regiments of foreigners, and created a standing army trained by foreign Europeans. He built a navy, and opened out a way to three seas—the Baltic, the Euxine, and the Caspian. But Russia was still shut out from the great waterways of the East. To this day she has no

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port on the Mediterranean, nor on the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf or the Indian Ocean.

The master passion of Peter the Great was to create a Russian Empire, and to educate his people in European civilisation. The task was so difficult, so opposed to the prejudices of the Russian people, that no mortal genius could have accomplished it except by the exercise of the most absolute despotism. The Russians hated European foreigners, their costume, their social refinements, and their thirst for knowledge. They were wedded to their Tartar gowns, long beards, coarse food, strong drink, vapour baths, tobacco smoke, and seclusion of wives and daughters. They were steeped in slavish ignorance and superstition, which could only be corrected by a large introduction of European foreigners, and an autocratic interference in private life and manners, which would never have been tolerated under any other form of government.

Peter's first reform was to order his Russian subjects, except priests and serfs, to wear European costume and to shave their beards. This innovation was as tremendous as the abolition of flesh meat and sacrifices by the Indian Asoka. The reform, however, was necessary. Russian soldiers could not fight to advantage in the long flowing dressing-gowns of the period; neither could Russian artisans when employed on European arts or manufactures.

Peter took large numbers of European foreigners into his service—English, Scotch, Germans, Frenchmen and Dutch—and employed them in every branch of the public service. In like manner he engaged foreign artisans and workmen of all description to teach his subjects the latest improvements and inventions. He cared nothing for birth or nationality or any claim whatever save that of merit, capacity, fitness, or superior knowledge. He appointed European foreigners to be his ministers and counsellors, to the exclusion of boyars or nobles who might be wanting in knowledge, experience, or ability. He refused to receive any Russian noble at court who had not served his country either in the army or in some civil capacity. He ordered nobles and merchants in the great towns to hold evening assemblies in their houses at stated intervals, at which all persons of respectability were freely admitted, ladies as well as gentlemen. He abrogated the ancient law or custom under which marriages were contracted by the parents between brides and bridegrooms, who had no personal acquaintance with each other; and he published a decree, under which no marriage could be solemnised until an intimacy of at least six weeks had taken place between the parties. This last ordinance was hailed with delight by the young people of both sexes. Above all it enlisted female influence in support of Peter's innovations,

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and ensured the eventual success of his social reforms. He determined on creating a national drama, and went so far as to establish a public theatre at Moscow, which eventually proved the most popular school of education and entertainment which could possibly have been opened out to the sluggish intellects and superstitious imaginations of the higher and middle classes of society. Towards the end of his reign he established a Board of Trade in St. Petersburgh, which was composed one-half of natives and the other half of foreigners.

Had Peter the Great accepted the theory of "Russia for the Russians," or framed a representative Government on the lines of the British Constitution, he would have confirmed the barbarism of ages, and done nothing for the advancement of his people. A Russian parliament would never have created a standing army of foreigners, nor officered any army with foreigners, or employed foreign draftsmen, carpenters, or artisans in building a navy. It would never have conquered the territories which intervened between Russia and the three seas for the purposes of commerce. In all probability it would have even engaged in debates for the avowed purpose of thwarting their sovereign, and proving that the Tartars were as capable of commanding armies and building ships, as English, Scotch, Dutch or German. In this present day the foreign element has become, in a great measure, merged in Russian nationality. The result of Peter's policy is that the foremost men in Russia, who have been her best statesmen and truest patriots, are descendants of foreigners, who have become Russian heart and soul without forgetting the nationality of their respective families.

The innovations of Peter were strongly opposed by the Greek Church. Before his accession to the throne, the Russians generally, and the Greek clergy especially, had treated European foreigners as heretics. No intermarriages had been pemitted with them outside the Greek communion. But the will of Peter the Great was too overpowering for the Greek clergy. He proclaimed that all Christians, excepting Jesuits, might live in Russia, build churches, and intermarry with native Russians. He was assailed with curses and branded as anti-Christ. He revenged himself by reforming the Greek Church, and ordered the Bible to be translated into the Sclavonic language and diffused amongst the people. He taxed the clergy the same as his other subjects. He issued a decree forbidding his people from taking monastic vows before the age of fifty. The Patriarch died, and the Czar would not appoint a successor. In previous reigns the Patriarch of the Greek Church had affected a supremacy independent of the Czar. Twenty years passed away, but still no Patriarch was appointed. Then Peter instituted a Holy Synod to hear all questions

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which concerned the Church, and to refer their decisions to him for judgment. He presided over the Synod in person, and received a petition praying for the appointment of a Patriarch. But Peter rose from his seat, and smiting the table with his hanger, exclaimed: "Here is your Patriarch." Since that day the Czar has been practically the Head of the Greek Church in Russia.

Two typical Moghuls may now be compared with two typical Czars, namely, Akbar and Aurangzebe with Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great. Both Moghuls had inherited something of the nature of their remote ancestors, Chenghiz Khan and Timur; but they had lost the Tartar features and complexions. Akbar was of mixed descent. His father was a Moghul and his mother was a Persian. He entertained Persian grandees at his court as a balance against Turks and Afghans; and was a latitudinarian in matters of religion. Aurangzebe on the other hand was more of a Turk, and like all Turks in those days, was a bigoted Mohammedan and Sunni, hating the Persian Shiahs with the intensity of a zealot. This contrast, however, between the two Moghuls will be further treated hereafter.

Akbar conquered Northern India in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Before the Moghul conquest, this region, known as Hindustan, had been the prey of Afghan Chiefs with the turbulent and dangerous instincts with which Europeans in the present generation have been only too familiar. It is true that in Mohammedan histories, compiled by court writers and other interested writers, these unscrupulous oppressors are described as Sultans of an advanced type. Those, however, who read between the lines, will realise the fact that these military adventurers were no better and no worse than the Afghan Sirdars who have been fighting one another in Central Asia ever since the death of Nadir Shah. A Sirdar of this type, half prince and half brigand, would get possession of a fortress, levy tribute or black mail from the country round, and plunder such caravans of merchants as declined to pay his extortionate demands. Such was the so-called Afghan rule in Northern India during the hundred years or so that intervened between the invasion of Timur and the Moghul conquest of Hindustan. South of the Jumna were the Rajput princes who had been driven out of Hindustan by Mohammedan invaders, and founded principalities between the Jumna and the Nerbudda river, paying homage and allegiance to an "Overlord" known as the Rana of Chitore.

Rajputs and Afghans seem to have kept up a border warfare from either side of the Jumna. They committed raids on each other's territories without much result beyond plunder and

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outrage. The Rajputs could not recover their sovereignty in Northern India, from which they had been ousted; and the Afghans had few temptations to leave their fortresses on the Ganges and Jumna to undertake expeditions into the hills and jungles of Central India. One line of Sultans reigned in Malwa, and others reigned further south in the Deccan, but their history is obscure.

Out of this chaos in Hindustan, Akbar created a Moghul Empire. He mastered both Afghans and Rajputs by exterminating marches, only less cruel than those of Ivan the Terrible, and an indomitable will not unlike that of Peter the Great. He was nominally a Mohammedan, but he threw off the shackles of Islam, and eventually became a persecutor rather than a believer. He married the daughters of Rajput princes, and so far departed from the first principles of the Koran as to permit his youthful brides to entertain Brahmans within the palace, and to worship their own Hindu gods; further, he was induced to take a part in the sacrifices and other Brahmanical rites like Solomon of old, who worshipped the gods of his heathen queens. He engaged a Parsi priest to teach him the religion of Zoroaster, and openly worshipped the Sun. He set at nought the collective body of Mohammedan lawyers and divines, known as the Ulema; he resented their remonstrances against his Rajput marriages, trampled on their ecclesiastical pretensions, and banished the more refractory to Central Asia, where it was said they were sold as slaves or bartered away for horses. At the same time he was active in the suppression of those Brahmanical rites and usages which were opposed to the ordinary rules of morality. He denounced infant marriages, and suppressed as far as he could the burning of living widows with their deceased husbands, as well as other barbarous customs which have prevailed amongst the Rajputs from a remote antiquity.

Akbar, like Peter the Great, was bent on creating an empire, but he knew nothing of the Western world. He was deeply imbued with Persian ideas as regards despotism and civilisation, but he was not inclined to accept Islam in any shape, whether from Shiah or Sunni. On the contrary he adopted the policy of Chenghiz Khan, who bound himself to no religion and tolerated all. He engaged Persian foreigners and appointed them to governments and commands. He abolished long beards. He accepted Persian as the written language of his Court; but Turkish still continued to be the spoken language of the Moghuls. He engaged Mohammedan scholars to translate the huge Sanskrit epics of the Maha-Bharata and Ramáyáná into the Persian language; being actuated probably by much the same motives

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as those which induced Peter the Great to order the Bible to be translated into Sclavonic. In a word, Akbar acted according to his lights; which were limited to Asiatic surroundings. During the greater part of his reign he was ignorant of Europe and Europeans. He could guage the superiority of the Persian over the Tartar, but he had been unable to compare the European with the Persian. His father Humayun had been driven out of Hindustan by the Afghan sultan, Sher Shah of Bengal, and he spent fifteen years in exile in Persia; and to this circumstance, and to the fact that his mother was a Persian girl, he owed his tastes and tendencies.

Had Akbar enjoyed the same advantages as Peter the Great in the way of European travel, he would probably have revolutionised both Mohammedans and Hindus. He might possibly have done something in the way of elevating the Moghul Court by entertainments and mixed assemblies. He certainly tried some experiments in this direction, but they failed from the lack of a European element. There were frequent exhibitions in the open air, which were witnessed by the ladies of the palace from behind tatties and curtains, but they were not of a refined character. There were fights between wild elephants in which the huge brutes struggled for mastery; fights and wrestlings between gladiators, and mortal combats between gladiators and lions or tigers; but these barbarous sports were utterly devoid of all the civilising influence of the theatre. They brutalised tastes instead of refining them. Akbar also instituted fancy fairs or bazaars within inner apartments of the palace, at which the wives and daughters of the grandees of court, Rajput as well as Mohammedan, were invited to play the part of shop-women and sell such wares as princes and nobles could buy. These entertainments are said to have caused much amusement, especially when the Great Akbar himself stooped to chaffer with the ladies and cheapen prices; but they led to scandals and sensational collisions which were by no means calculated to bring about a better understanding between antagonistic races and religions. The Hindu theatre was equally wanting in intellectual power. Stories were acted on the stage, and buffoons and dancing girls played their parts, but the plots were artificial and wanting in wit or humour, excepting of the worst description, which would be revolting to European refinement. Concerts and balls, such as those of Europe, were out of the question, inasmuch as musicians and dances were always regarded as paid performers of low character, and for a gentleman to be esteemed as a good musician, or a lady as a graceful dancer, was violently opposed to all Hindu or Mohammedan ideas. Indeed, it was an insult to be called a "musician," whilst the term "dancing girl"

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was equivalent to that of "courtesan," and to this day Asiatic gentlemen who have never been to Europe, often find it difficult to draw a distinction between eastern and western conceptions.

During the latter part of his reign Akbar came into contact with Europeans, but they were mostly adventurers of a low stamp, deserters from European armies, runaway artisans, men of bone and muscle perhaps, but inclined to drunkenness and other vices, and reckless of life and character. Some he took into his service as engineers and gunners, and he seems to have frequently unbent in their society, but he never drank with them or indulged in such coarse intimacies as those of Czar Peter with the ship-builders and artisans in the dock-yards of Saardam or Deptford. He was also much attracted by what he heard of the Portuguese at Goa, and he wrote a complimentary letter to the Portuguese Viceroy, requesting that learned priests might be sent to his Court at Agra, to teach the doctrines of Catholic Christianity to himself and his grandees. The bait took. The Viceroy gladly responded to the call. Christian fathers were sent to the Moghul Court, and received most graciously. They found an eager listener in Akbar who expressed his delight in their teachings. He adored the Virgin and Child, and pressed the crucifix to his lips like a fervent believer. He permitted the Christian fathers to build a church at Agra, and to carry the cross in procession through the public streets. But Akbar would not be baptised nor make any public profession of Christianity. He pretended to be Supreme in all religious matters. To the Mohammedan he was the "Lord of the Period"; the Mahdi who was to bring in a New Millenium. To the Rajputs he laboured to appear as a ray of the sun, a new incarnation of Vishnu, a descendant of Rama of Ayodhya. In both directions his object was political rather than religious. From a Mohammedan point of view he scorned any interference from Ulema or Caliph. From a Rajput point of view he claimed to be "Overlord" in the room of the Rana of Chitore who boasted his descent from Rama. A monarch with such pretensions could no more submit to a priest and acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, than Peter the Great could submit to the spiritual domination of the Patriarch of the Greek Church. Neither Akbar nor Peter would have been content with anything less than the attributes of deity and the absolute despotism of temporal sovereignty.

The life of Akbar, taken as a whole, bears a closer resemblance to that of Ivan the Terrible than to Peter the Great. His cruelties are veiled by oriental historians, but after his death the truth was plainly told and reached the ears of Europeans residing in India. Akbar is charged with the murder of his guardian Bairam Khan. He conquered Rajputana and

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Malwa by sheer massacre. He opened the old highways of the Ganges and Jumna between Agra and Benares, but it was by the slaughter of thousands of freebooters and rebels, and the exposure of their remains on trees and gibbets. He was a poisoner of the first water, and distributed poisoned sweetmeats with gracious smiles to those who had offended him or otherwise crossed his path. He nearly murdered his eldest son Jehangir. He died from inadvertently taking one of his own poisoned pills, and Jehangir found it necessary in his "Autobiography" to defend himself against the charge of having murdered his own father.

There is a strange resemblance between the land revenue system of Akbar and that of Ivan the Terrible. For a hundred years previously, Hindustan and Russia had suffered from anarchy. There was no settled government, and large tracts of land had fallen out of cultivation. The peasants deserted their fields and joined the predatory bands like the Pindharies of India in modern times. Both Akbar and Ivan the Terrible converted them into serfs, fixed them to the land, and turned the heads of households into hereditary holders of their plots, so long as a certain yearly revenue was paid to the Crown. This subject, however, is too large to be discussed in the limits of a review, and may be reserved for a future occasion. In Russia the system developed into hereditary serfdom. In India the result would have been very similar, had not the tenants been protected by the land revenue settlements which have been carried out under British rule.

J. TALBOYS WHEELER.

[*To be continued.*]

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ART. II.—RECOLLECTIONS OF POLISH LIFE AND MANNERS.

IN the autumn of 1880 I proceeded, at the advice of some friends, to Poland. An acquaintance in Warsaw recommended me a farm of some 200 acres; so I departed that evening by rail from Warsaw to Pulawy, and travelled the next morning by steamer from Pulawy up the Vistula to Slupia Nadrzezna. The journey between Warsaw and Pulawy was over flat country, passing every now and then through extensive forests; but I must confess I was very much disappointed in the size of the trees. I had always imagined Poland covered with primeval forests; but instead of that the trees seemed to be only some 40 to 50 years old, and in many places there were only fresh plantations. The land was on the whole very sandy and little but larch trees and pines seemed to grow on it, reminding one very much of the trees sold in the boxes of toy farms. The journey between Pulawy and Slupia was, however, decidedly more interesting. A few miles above Pulawy, the Vistula enters the large Polish plain, but above this point the river winds through low hills, which at one time recede on the right bank, another time on the left, leaving in either case a strip of very fertile land. About four miles above Pulawy lies the town of Konstantinow on the right bank of the Vistula. It is surrounded by hills some 300 to 400 feet high, on which there are the ruins of an old feudal castle, and an old church stands not very far from the river. Further on we pass under some very steep cliffs which threaten to fall in every moment; here there is just a narrow roadway left between the cliffs and the river; then the river makes a grand sweep over to the opposite bank, and we pass an old royal palace, a favorite retreat of the old Polish kings. By about 2 P. M. I arrived at my destination. As my friend in Warsaw knew that there was no inn, much less a hotel in the little village, he gave me a letter of introduction to his friend, the Polish magnate of the place, who was also the owner of the farm I intended to purchase. Mr. and Mrs. E. received me very cordially, and after looking over the farm, I decided to purchase it. We remained on the farm for 2½ years, when I sold it again to Mr. E. During this period I had many opportunities of making myself acquainted with Polish life and manners.

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The Polish servants are, as a rule, a very lazy, lying set, but above all things arrant thieves; nothing is safe from them unless it be kept under lock and key; even eatables have to be locked away. I was told as one reason for this that the priests explained the commandment "Thou shalt not steal," as referring to money and jewellery, whereas other property is not especially mentioned. Indian servants are at least fairly honest, and there is no need to lock up every thing, though a khitmatgar may now and then drink the tea; and one can as a rule let the bearer or the ayah work about in the bedroom without being obliged to go in immediately afterwards to see if anything has been purloined. Unfortunately for myself I did not follow the good advice given me by my friends, of locking up everything, and had therefore to learn by experience not to trust in the honesty of Polish servants. My first loss was occasioned by a pretty looking girl who stole several yards of chintz as well as several pieces of underlinen belonging to my wife and children. Another servant disappeared one day without a word, and on making enquiries I found that this was well-known to be her practice, she being too lazy to stay in a place more than a week. She also displayed a trick not unknown in India, for we found several things hidden in out-of-the-way nooks and crannies, which she had put there intending to remove them, if they were not asked or looked for within a certain time, but which she had forgotten to replace before leaving the service. Polish servants often laugh when found out, and are not in the least abashed.

As in Russia so also in Poland, it is the custom to examine the servants' boxes at irregular intervals. According to law the soltys, corresponding in some respects to the village lambardar, ought to be present at the examination; but this is a rule which is more honoured in its disuse, and the revision is generally done when there is nobody in the house. If the soltys were present, he would have to take up a protocol of all that happened and was found, and one might have to go to court against the servant; and on the other hand if nothing has been found, the servant can complain of defamation of character, &c. The box is opened by any key which may happen to suit, looked through from top to bottom, and everything which one recognises as one's property, removed. Frequently objects which have long been lost sight of then come to light again. The servants never dare to make any complaints.

The Polish gentry confess that it is impossible to manage a farm or an estate, if the whip is not used freely; for that is the only punishment which the servants understand. Still the punishment must not take place openly, but the culprit must be taken into a room or stable, the door locked, and the

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whip applied, till the person falls down and begs for pardon: a slight punishment only makes the man more obstinate and impudent. If the man be punished publicly, he can call his fellow servants as witnesses, and one has to pay a fine, but if he be in a room where he cannot be seen, he has no case, for what one hears does not count as evidence.

In criticising the character of the Polish servants, one must always take into consideration that, at the time of which I write (1880), only some sixteen years had elapsed since the peasantry had gained their liberty. I suppose most of my readers know that serfage was in force in Poland up to the revolution of 1864. Up to that period there were only two grades of pure Poles, excluding of course the Jews and immigrants, *viz.* (*a*) the gentry or owners of the land, and (*b*) the peasantry who were serfs of the former, and were not permitted to leave the estate without the permission of their master. The trade was almost entirely in the hands of Jews or foreigners, the few Polish traders there were, being either serfs who were allowed to trade for the benefit of their masters, or freedmen and their descendants. Every man who had served in the Russian army was *ipso facto* free.

The gentry on the other hand had only two careers to choose between: either they became officers in the army or they managed their own estates. The learned professions, such as medicine and law, &c., as well as a mercantile career were considered demeaning. The master had full power over the person and life of his serfs. The following was related to me as the severest form of capital punishment which existed; it was, however, very rarely inflicted, and then only in cases of very grave crimes. The condemned person was in the depth of winter led out into the open air and undressed; a pail of icy cold water was then poured over his warm body and allowed to steam away, then at intervals a second, a third or more pails were similarly emptied over him, till the poor creature died under fearful agonies and became a real statue of ice. Serfdom had however towards the end become a sort of forced service rather than real slavery. The master built and repaired the wretched hovels, gave the married serf one or two cows, a pair of oxen or horses, plough, and cart, as well as some land on which he reared the rye, potatoes, oats, and flax for his own wants. In return he and his family had to work for his master a certain number of days in the week, either as a common labourer, or with his horses, and according to his means, and had to complete his daily task. Those of the children who were fit for work, as well as all the unmarried young men and girls, lived in the outhouses of the estate and were clothed and boarded by their masters. These had naturally to work

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every day of the week, excepting Sundays and Saints-days, but received no further wages. According to the peasants' own statements, those of them who served under kind and considerate masters were decidedly better off than they are now. Others again who had hard and cruel masters had no time to cultivate their own fields or gather in their crops, having to spend nealy all their time in doing the work of the estate.

The late Emperor Alexander II, who also abolished serfdom in Russia, proclaimed the abolition of serfage in Poland after the suppression of the rebellion in 1865. To prevent the freed peasants falling again into the power of the gentry, when most probably some other sort of slavery would have sprung up, and to enable the peasants to earn their own livelihood in their former calling, the Government divided a certain portion of each estate, consisting of arable, meadow, and forest land among the peasants of that estate, each family receiving its share in proportion to the value of its former forced labour. The land was however handed over to only one member of the family, that there might always be labourers who would be obliged to earn their living by serving as farm or day labourers. Still the results of the emancipation were for the first year or two very noxious to the interests of the country, because the larger number of those who had received no land, would no longer serve under their former masters. As many of the gentry, therefore, as had private means engaged labourers in Galicia, Bohemia or Posen; the greater number, however, who had only the produce of their land to fall back upon, suffered immense losses, as nearly the whole of their crops rotted in the fields for want of labour to get it in; many were even ruined in those years. Many of the freed serfs and of the hired labourers ran away from the estates, forming roaming bands of beggars and thieves. Thereupon the landowners applied to the Government for aid, and the existing law of master and servant was then enacted, according to which no farm servant is allowed to leave the service without giving three months' notice. The disturbances then gradually ceased. The custom now is, that the changes in service take place on the 1st of January and 1st of July, both in town and in the country. The contracts are usually made to the new year. As a three months' notice is required from either party, the new servants, both male and female, have to be engaged about Michaelmas; it is therefore also very difficult to get even a decent house-servant about July or during the course of the year.

The Government gave the landowners a nominal compensation for the land thus allotted to the peasants, and this sum is gradually being recovered from the latter by means of a

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slightly raised land tax, so that the peasants and their descendants have to pay higher taxes on their land than the gentry and the colonists.

When the land was being divided, the Russian Government tried to place all the peasants of each estate on an equality as regards the quality of the soil allotted to each. As it would not have been fair to the landowners to take only the better soil for this purpose, the serfs' share had to be subdivided according to its nature, so that, for example, a peasant receiving 30 acres (the maximum allotted to one man, whilst 5 acres was the minimum) may have got it in the following proportions: 15 acres good soil, 8 acres poorer sandy soil, 2 acres meadow and 5 acres forest. Each species of soil was divided proportionately into long strips, these again often lying and running in different directions, so that the same man has land in perhaps three or four different parts of the village, as one generally finds in the Punjab villages: in the latter, however, each piece is compact. I have seen such strips 800 to 1,000 yards long, but scarcely 20 feet broad. Hedges are unknown in Poland; fences are only put round the yards surrounding the homestead.

The next thing the Russian Government had to consider was, how to prevent these lands being gradually absorbed again into the estates, or, still worse, falling into the hands of the Jews. The Emperor, therefore, issued a law, that every one wishing to purchase land allotted to the peasantry had to prove that he was a peasant. It is, however, not advisable, even for one who is a small agriculturist, to buy land in a village, because the Government has not yet recovered the whole of the compensation paid to the landowners, and on its becoming evident that they were losing by the present rates, they might raise the taxes to recoup themselves.

In purchasing an estate it is also necessary to be very cautious, because the peasant's rights had not (up to last year) been finally settled up everywhere. A personal acquaintance in P., a manufacturer who had been many years in Poland, bought an estate of about 1,000 acres without examining the title deeds very closely, and found to his cost that he had to give some 60 klafters of wood (a klafter=6ft. × 3ft. × 3ft.=54c.ft.) to the peasants yearly as fuel: his estate did not, however, contain any forest land, so that he was obliged to buy it for them yearly, till he had bought them off with a good lump sum.

Many estates and forests or parts of such have, in the course of time, been sold by their owners (in contradistinction to being annexed and divided by the Government) in larger or smaller lots to immigrants or others. As these were not taken

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away by order of the Government, there were no extra taxes on them. Such settlements are called colonies in contradistinction to villages, the latter name being only applied to the allotments made to the freed serfs. In outward appearance there is nothing to distinguish a colony from a village, the different lots being scattered in the same promiscuous fashion. A German settlement can, however, be recognised at once as such by its neatness and cleanliness and by the orchard on one side of the house, whereas the house of a Pole is generally shabby, if not dilapidated, and rarely has any fruit-trees about it.

As the Indian Government keeps up a register of all sales and transfers of land, and therefore has the title deeds of all property in its hands, so the title deeds in Poland are all kept in the "hypotheke" of the capital of each gubernium. For this purpose there are large folio volumes kept in duplicate for each town, village and colony which existed in 1865, the time when the registration was taken in hand. These volumes contain indices and are always kept up to date, all transactions with full particulars of mortgages, loans, and divisions of property through inheritance, sale, &c., being entered by notaries who are especially licensed by the Government. Any would-be purchaser or money-lender can therefore in a few minutes ascertain the condition of any estate, farm, or even peasant's lot. The charges for the entries are fixed and on the whole very moderate. Although at the time I made my inquiries this system had been in force some 16 years, still not a single volume had been lost or mutilated, which speaks volumes for the honesty of the notaries and their employés, especially in a land where corruption flourishes among the officials. In the Punjab these records are also kept in duplicate, the original of all village plans and records being kept in the tahsil, whilst a copy of them is kept by the village registrar; in Poland, on the contrary, no plans or records are kept in the village, but all are kept at the head-quarters of the gubernium. These "hypotheken" are a peculiarity of Poland. According to my informant they could not be introduced into Russia proper, firstly, because the Russian nobles are as a rule so steeped in debts, that if such registration were introduced, the majority would find it a matter of great difficulty to borrow money; secondly, the honesty of Russian officials is, as a rule, of a very questionable character; and thirdly, on account of the existing customs; for the lands of a community are yearly divided by lot between all its married members, and as a man may hold land at one end of the village one year and at the other end the next, it would be impossible to register the proprietorship without making a final allotment. Again, not only the position

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but also the quantity of each peasant's land is liable to fluctuation, for if the son of a villager marries, he also becomes a sharer in the next allotment of land. In consequence of this uncertainty of tenure, the people do not trouble themselves to try to improve the land or even to keep up its strength, for the person putting in money to ameliorate his share would not profit much himself, but his successors of the following years would reap all the benefits. Though the Government sees the evils of this system, it does not like to interfere for fear of provoking a revolution, for the peasants are quite wedded to their old institutions.

Russian Poland is divided into 10 gubernia, each with its governor, *viz.*, (1) Warsaw, (2) Kalish, (3) Petrokow, (4) Radom, (5) Kielce, (6) Lublin, (7) Siedlec, (8) Plock, (9) Loniza and (10) Suwalki. Of these Warsaw is the most important, and its governor is at the same time the Governor-General of Poland. The governors are all generals and have charge of the military as well as civil administrations. The higher posts are, in fact, all in the hands of military men. Each gubernium is divided into powiats or districts with a nachelnik (head officer) at the head, who manages all the civil and police affairs. A powiat again is divided into several gminys, (gmina from the German "gemeinde" an association). A gubernium is hardly the size of an Indian district; the powiat would correspond more to a tahsil, whilst the gmina, consisting of a small circle of villages, colonies and estates, would be represented by a thánah. The officials of a gmina are a wójt (pronounced vŏoit) and his writer, and each colony and village has its own soltys. The wojts and soltyses are chosen every three years by the community; the writer of the gmina, however, is appointed by the nachelnik of the powiat, and is supposed to have a fair knowledge of the law. The wójt possesses some slight magisterial powers; it is his business to superintendend the collection of the taxes of his gmina, he sends each owner a copy of the assessments on his land for the year, forwards all summonses to the soltys for distribution, keeps a register of all births, marriages and deaths, grants passports to the natives, receives and registers those of any foreigners residing within his jurisdiction, institutes the preliminary inquiries into all cases of murder, arson, &c., calling in the aid of the police where necessary. Though his duties are so manifold and often very important, it frequently happens that a man is chosen for the post who can scarcely read and may just be able to write his name. In such a case the power naturally falls into the hands of the writer, the wójt being merely a cypher who makes his mark or signs everything put down before him. The official language is Russian, and very

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few of the peasants can speak it; the number among the gentry who speak Russian is also not very large, as the Poles hate the Russians for having conquered their country and deprived them of their liberty.

Small Cause Courts are established here and there in the more important towns of the district. These generally consist of three judges chosen by the community, with a secretary or record-keeper appointed by the nachelnik. As the judges are in many cases ignorant peasants who do not know Russian, the secretary puts the questions to the witnesses, takes down their evidence, and frequently does all the judicial part, even to passing sentence, only applying to the judges for their approval. The judges wear brass chains round their necks as badges of their exalted position, and sit most of the time looking like wise dummies. In those cases where some Polish gentleman has been chosen to the office of judge, he plays a more important roll, and the secretary does not have everything his own way. After a decision has been passed, an appeal must be lodged within three weeks, or else the fine has to be paid.

In many courts some cases hang on for months before any steps are taken in them, or perhaps the complainant and witnesses may be summoned for a certain day, and then the case does not come on after all. A present to the writer will, however, in all cases insure prompt attention, whereas a tight hold of the purse strings in this respect may cause one a great deal of wasted time and annoyance.

According to Russian law, circumstantial evidence has no value (except in political cases or where nihilism is concerned), and the old maxim that what one has heard is no evidence is taken verbatim.

The following anecdote, which is freely related in Poland, gives a sarcastic idea of the esteem in which the police are held. An English, a German and a Russian detective are supposed to have met once, and amongst other topics of conversation, they began each to praise the sharpness of the detectives of his own country. The German said, "Our Berlin detectives have improved very much within the last few years. If a crime is now committed in Germany, they are sure to find out the criminal within 8 days." The Englishman replied, "Yours still require a long time. The London detectives have the culprit safely looked up within 48 hours, even in the most difficult cases." The Russian looked at them both contemptuously. "Do you call that being sharp? Our Russian detectives, and even the ordinary policeman, know already the day before, when and where the burglars will break in."

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The corruptibility of the judges and their disregard of all circumstantial evidence make the detection of incendiaries, burglars, &c., very difficult, besides which the police themselves are generally shareholders with the thieves: An honest official is not allowed to rise, for he creates so many enemies among his fellow-officials by his upright conduct, that they do their utmost to get rid of him. In this latter point they are well supported by Jews who make a good living by acting as mediators between the bribers and the bribed. One of the chief reasons, however, is that no judge, police officer, &c., nor even a common policeman can live on his pay; thus the burgomaster of P., a town of 10,000 inhabitants, has only 600 roubles—£60 a year; out of this sum he has to pay for the education of his children, a son and two daughters. One of the latter is in a finishing school in Warsaw, and for her education alone he has to pay 600 roubles,—what is he to live on? His predecessor managed the raising of his income very simply. Many of the houses of the town had been built before P. was raised to the honour of a town with its own burgomaster; the plinth of these was generally raised some three feet above the ground and had, therefore, steps by which the door was attained. Later on the streets were widened, and these steps stood far on the pavement,—here was a good opportunity. Whenever the burgomaster saw his pockets getting empty, he sent out orders to the house-owners that all the steps must be removed within a week. To avoid all the worry of making a plan for the necessary alterations, getting it sanctioned, &c., &c., the people simply paid up 3 to 5 roubles each, and nothing more was heard of the steps till the next year; in the interval he had perhaps issued orders that all wooden houses must be pulled down, as being dangerous in case a fire broke out.

A policeman in the same town receives 6 roubles a month as pay, even less than a boy does as a farm labourer. On this he has to clothe and feed himself and his family, if he be married, as nearly all are. Notwithstanding this absurdly low pay, they generally manage to amass so much, that they can retire after 2 or 3 years to live on their interest. One such man had 8,000 roubles (£800) lent out on interest at the end of his year of service; he had had nothing when he entered the service. The Bengal "Bobby" pales into nothingness before this; and even the Bombay mamlutdars might learn something from the Russian official.

Each village, however small, has at least one public house, where the worst kind of spirit, the Polish wódka (*pr.* voodka), made from potatoes, is sold. This wódka is very strong, and a foreigner coming fresh to the country cannot manage to swallow

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it without making faces. It is always taken neat out of strong thick glasses, containing a little less than a sherry glass, and drunk in one draught; it is considered a breach of good manners to drink it in sips. I will also mention here, that when one pays a visit anywhere, the host produces his wódka bottle and *one* glass, fills it, looks at the chief guest, makes a bow and drinks it down, then hands the glass and bottle to that guest, who looks at another gentleman and repeats the same performance, the glass and bottle thus making the round of the male members of the party.

The house door is, in the case of a well-to-do peasant, in the centre in front, and on entering it one comes into a passage which leads through to the yard, and on each side of this passage there is a room. In the passage, which, with the poorer peasants, serves as a place for locking up the pigs at night, there is a common ladder to enable the inmates and the fowls to get up into the attic. The poorer peasant contents himself with one room which serves as a dwelling-room bedroom and kitchen. The furniture in both cases is very simple, consisting of one or at the utmost two bedsteads, however large the family may be, which are sometimes heaped up high with featherbeds, (the standing of a peasant is judged by the quantity of his featherbeds), a table, a bench, two or three wooden chairs and a cupboard, the upper-half of the latter having glass doors, thus exhibiting the amount of glass, crockery and cutlery which the owner possesses. What struck one most was the number of pictures of various saints and the virgin which hung on the walls over the bedsteads. Every person entering the room bows to these pictures, crosses himself and salutes the inmates with various reverential exclamations.

The national costume varies in different parts of the country. In the Opatow, where I bought my farm, the men wear a long coarse grey coat, coarse trousers, and a broad-brimmed straw hat in summer, and mostly go about barefooted. In winter a sheepskin coat or, if that cannot be afforded, a coarse wadded over-coat is worn out of doors, whilst the straw hats are replaced by all kinds of fur-caps, some square at the top, reminding one of mortar-boards, some round, and some pointed. The overcoat consists of a closely fitting body, with a skirt very much like a woman's, gathered at the back and sown on to it. The many folds enable the wearer to draw it over his knees when driving, and it thus does duty as a carriage rug.

The women wear a loose body and a skirt, the latter generally of a bright coloured material, in grass green, red or blue. In winter, a wadded jacket is worn. When going out they put on a wadded great coat, which looks very much like that of the

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men, and the head is protected by a warm shawl, which they cross over the chest and tie in a knot behind the back. The women either wear laced-up boots or long topboots reaching to the knees ; these are, however, in summer only worn on Sundays and Saints' days. The careful housewife goes to church or to town barefooted, carrying the boots in her hand till she approaches the town or village, and only then puts them on. On the way home the action is reversed, the feet being bare as soon as she has reached the outskirts of the village. I was hereby often reminded of the natives of India who, on coming to a muddy place, prefer to carry their shoes in their hands and to soil their feet rather than their shoes.

The boots and shoes in Poland rarely fit the wearer, and as to socks, they are a luxury unknown to the peasants of which they have only heard. When buying a pair of boots, the peasant looks to see, firstly, whether they are strong, secondly, that they are not short or tight (they may be much too large and loose), and thirdly, that they look pretty and stylish. The undue size is no inconvenience to the purchaser, for as he has no socks, he wraps his feet in old rags, and when these are scarce, in hay or staw, and all superfluous space can easily be filled up with the same material. My wife was once buying some boots for the children, but had forgotten the sizes. On her expressing her fear that they might not fit, the shoemaker, one of the best in Warsaw, advised her to buy them too large rather than too small ; for, as he said, they can always be filled up with straw.

In the Lask district the women wear coarse bright striped woollen skirts, and aprons of the same material but with different coloured stripes ; a second glaring coloured apron is worn round the neck like a collar ; the head dress consists of a white muslin cap with narrow frills round the face and broad ribbons hanging down behind.

A married woman must keep her hair cut short ; every bride has her plaits cut off after the wedding ceremony, and is not allowed to let her hair grow longer than to her shoulders.

As soon as a couple are engaged, all the acquaintances come to congratulate them and take the opportunity to tell the young man all the maiden's faults, making her out to be much worse than she really is, and the young girl hears all the sins and wickednesses of her lover, so that they may enter the married state fully forewarned. The young girl then makes her return visits in company with her mother, each carrying a large sack. Let us accompany a mother and daughter on such a visit ; After the salutations are over, the visitors seat themselves and listen to all sorts of spiteful remarks about the lover ; the girl then begins to cry bitterly and declares she will never marry

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him; hereupon the mother gets up and threatens to turn her out of the house altogether if she break off the engagement, hereby causing the tears to flow all the faster. The weeping has in the meantime softened the hearts of the hostess and her friends, who retire to bring some tangible comfort in the shape of a bushel of rye or flour, and sometimes also a few pounds of sausage or bacon. These gifts are then carefully put into the sacks, and the visitors get up to say good-bye and proceed to the next family, where the same scene is enacted over again. The crying is just as much a matter of custom as it is with an Indian bride, who, when being carried to the house of her bridegroom, cries most lamentably whenever she passes through a village, and is contented as soon as the last house has been left behind. The upshot of these visits to their friends and acquaintances is that the young couple have generally got sufficient together to be independent for the first year; they are supposed to keep themselves after that time by their own labour and the produce of their fields.

A Polish fair or 'jahrmarkt' reminds one very much of an Indian fair or mêla. There are very much the same amusements and the same bright mixture of all the colours of the rainbow. Many of them are in connection with religious festivals, where the dealers make use of the opportunity to offer their wares to the peasants who have flocked in from all sides. Each branch of trade has its own appointed spot in the fair, booths containing articles of the same sort being grouped together as in the Indian bazaars. Cattle are exposed for sale in one street, pigs in another, horses again in a third, sweetmeat vendors occupy the main thoroughfare, with cap and hat makers along the sides of the houses, &c. The noise on such occasions baffles description, and it is almost impossible to get through the crowd. Of course every article has to be bargained for.

Shepherds as a rule have a very bad name. Their duty requires them to be out all day in the open fields tending their flocks, because fences and hurdles are unknown; they must, moreover, doctor all sick sheep, as veterinary surgeons are few and far between, and the merino sheep are very delicate; they have also much leisure and opportunity for studying the effects of the different herbs, besides which the father imparts his knowledge to the son who generally follows the same calling. In the peasants' opinion the shepherds know how to prepare draughts to make people idiotic, and to write charms which, placed under the doorway of a hated neighbour, will bring a curse on him and him alone as soon as he crosses the threshold of his house: in a word the shepherds are believed to be poisoners and wizards. None of the neighbours dare inform the police

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when poisoning is suspected, because it is almost impossible to bring direct evidence in such cases, and should the man be let off, he would be sure to revenge himself on the informer either by poisoning him or his cattle, or by burning his house down.

Arson is very frequent in Poland and the incendiaries are never punished, except in the very few cases where they are caught in the act of setting the house on fire. In 1884-85 there were many bankruptcies throughout Russia, the manufacturers and wholesale dealers in Lodz suffering severe losses thereby. Many of these (mostly Jews), when they saw that business was getting very bad, removed their more valuable goods to the houses of their friends and relatives, and as they had, through certain agents, nicknamed arson-agents, insured everything well, fire broke out on the premises very soon after everything had been prepared for it. That in such cases the fire brigade often found burning candles loosely stuck up in baskets of rags, waste paper or other rubbish, saturated with kerosine oil, was a thing not to be wondered at; but the question as to who could possibly have done it had still to be solved. The owner always maintained that he had, as his employés could prove, left everything in good order when the shop was closed for the night; he could only suppose that some one who bore him a grudge wished to injure him, or else some thief must have got in and removed all the valuables and set fire to the house. It was, remembering the habits of Russian officials, always an easy matter for the sufferer to convince the head of the police of his innocence, and such cases were not even brought to the notice of the proper authorities. When the captain of the fire brigade (they were all volunteers and not officials) and other leading members wished to have such minor circumstances connected with the fire, as baskets of rubbish saturated with kerosine, and burning candles having been found, and that the wares left in the locality only consisted of the refuse and so on, taken up in the protocol, they were told to mind their own business, as otherwise the consequences would be unpleasant for them.

As it was widely known who had suffered severe losses, a man's shaky commercial standing was often expressed by the words: "There will soon be a fire at X's." At that time the following riddle was invented: "Which is the best fire brigade? The Berlin, New York, or Lodzer?" The answer was "The Lodzer," because the Berlin fire brigade is on the spot in a quarter of an hour, the New York in 5 minutes, but the Lodzer is there already the evening before the fire breaks out.

This state of things was only put an end to by the insurance companies refusing to pay some insurances and dismissing a number of these arson-agents, appointing other honest German or Polish agents instead.

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In India one never thinks of locking the doors in the house in the day time, nor does a stranger think of coming into a room, especially a bedroom, without knocking or asking permission ; but in Poland one must keep every door locked, particularly when one leaves the house or wishes to be private, because no one, not even the gentry, knock at a door ; it therefore often happened that when somebody wished to speak to us, he coolly went from one room to another till he found us. That the servant should be called to announce the visitor entered no one's head. Once my wife had lain down and gone to sleep ; suddenly she started up and found the Jew, who was building our house, standing in the bedroom. She had great difficulty in convincing him that his presence was not wanted. On another occasion the postman handed her a letter in bed. The Poles think that if a door is not locked every one is entitled to enter. This being so, one is liable to constant interruptions in one's daily work.

Tea is next to wódka the favourite beverage in Poland. It is to be had in every refreshment room, but is drunk out of tumblers and not cups. For preparing the tea, a large brass urn called a samowar is kept by every family, rich and poor. The samowar has an inner tube running down the middle, for the reception of the glowing charcoal to heat the water which has been poured between the inner and outer case ; to increase the draught there is generally a sort of chimney, a prolongation of the inner tube, put on. The tea is made in a small teapot holding at the most two teacups. In this teapot a good supply of tea is put and boiling water poured over it, the whole being then placed on the tube containing the fuel. Whenever a guest asks for a glass of tea, a little essence of tea is poured out from the teapot, the tumbler put under the tap of the urn, and filled up with hot water, three lumps of sugar being handed over with it on a tiny saucer. Many people put slices of lemon into the tea to give it a taste. The tea is thus, of course, very weak, and according to English ideas not fit to drink ; but the Poles cannot imagine how any one can stand strong tea or drink it with milk. In Russia the tea is prepared in the same way as in Poland, the only difference is in the manner of partaking of it ; for there the sugar is taken into the mouth and then a sip of tea is drunk.

There are points for and against life in Poland, and on quitting the country, my feelings were not those of unmixed regret.

AN OLD INDIAN.

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ART. III.—THE AUXILIARY FORCES IN INDIA.

IT is not too much to say that the motive power of all, or almost all the military preparations, the noise of which has been resounding through India, and indeed, throughout the world ever since the spring of 1885, is the prospect of an invasion of India by the Russians. Of course by military preparations I do not refer to our present frontier wars; though, even in them, there are wheels within wheels. The apprehension of French interference led—certainly in a great measure—to the annexation of Burma. But it is well-known that of late there has been a marked intimacy and political sympathy between France and Russia. So who knows but that the Frenchman, when he commenced to tamper with Burma, was instigated and backed up clandestinely by Russia? The French in Tonquin and Annam, hemmed in between China and British Indo-China, are in an uncommonly dangerous position; and if Russia does not help France to maintain itself there, she will, we may certainly predict, have to vacate that position—and that probably not without loss of life, money, and prestige.

Our Lushai and Chin expeditions are part and parcel of the Burmese campaign. Turning to Sikkim, how far have the explorations of the late General Prejevalsky and his confréres conduced to influence our Government to occupy Sikkim by force of arms, and to maintain our authority and political influence there? And all along the North-West frontier there is really no peace, although no open warfare with the border tribes (I omit the Black Mountain affair which is of mere local interest) has been declared. But we are for ever sending our little exploring expeditions with orders not to bring on a collision, but to see and learn all they can. And all this interest—in the border-land between the territories of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and His Highness the Amir—is born of nothing but the desire (a desire that is born of expediency, nay, indeed, of imperative necessity) to learn where we can best resist the invader, and at what points we have to be most on our guard against surprise and disaster.

Just as we have realised, since the Russian success at Panjdeh, that we must arm ourselves against invasion from without: so, too, we have foreseen that we must be ready to cope with internal insurrection. The subject chosen this year by the United Service Institution of India for its Prize Medal Essay, The organization of European and Eurasian subjects in

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India (including Volunteers) not belonging to the Army and Navy, &c.," is an important feature in the question of internal defence. In 1885 the United Service Institution of India chose the "Defence of the North-West frontier" as its subject; followed in 1886 by the "North-Western Railway Service Corps scheme," both bearing on the question of external defence. Now, in 1889, the military talent of India is called upon to consider the question of internal defence. The topic is one that might almost be treated of more ably and successfully by a civilian or military-civilian than by a soldier *pur et simple*. Indeed, it is a very wide subject, and one which, I believe, can only be satisfactorily treated by one who has free access to official records. It is not likely that a subject of so much importance has not before been considered by Government. No doubt a Committee or Commission has assembled on it at Simla; and a writer on the subject would be very pleased to consult the Report of that Commission. Again, as regards the Volunteers, who are a most important feature in any scheme for the internal defence of India, what does the ordinary public know of their value and efficiency? We see meagre reports of their strength in the columns of the press from time to time. But Government must or ought to have before it reports that give a fairly reliable idea of the efficiency of the backbone of our Indian auxiliary forces. But this is all hidden from the public eye. Then what an important item is the Defence Committee! A person acquainted with the details of its workings and projects would surely be far better able to say how the civilian population of India could be best utilised for defence, than one who knows little except the names of its President, Members, and Secretary. It is very certain that if India is involved in a war with a great European Power, it will have to look to its harbour defences; and the manning of those defences will be likely to fall, in part at least, on our Volunteer Corps and other civilians. But what scheme can the uninitiated formulate for the better protection of our harbours, shipping, and sea-port towns, when we are ignorant what means of defence exist? Are we to write to the Defence Committee, or to the Port Trust, or the Engineers engaged on the defences? And, if we did write, would we get an answer? Assuredly not, except to mind our own business. Then there are, scattered over India, certain fortresses and fortified camps or positions, which would certainly be held as strongholds against internal insurrection. But who knows them all, and can enumerate them? Then, again, the Railway system of India must have a most important bearing on any scheme of internal defence. Now, in order to have proper access to the records and documents requisite to enlighten an individual on all

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the points that I have detailed above, it is necessary that that individual should spend at least six months at Simla, and have free access to all records: any person having no such access can but approach the subject, so to speak, in semi-darkness. However, the Council of the United Service Institution of India have set the theme; and to any one anxious to do justice to it, I can only suggest that he should apply to be at once appointed an unpaid attaché in the Intelligence Branch. He may then possibly, being on the spot, be allowed a few peeps into record boxes that are inaccessible to the multitude. But I think it would have been more satisfactory to the Council of the United Service Institution of India if, instead of appealing to the officials of India to contribute *gratis* their crude ideas on the internal defence of the country, (ideas comparatively valueless, because based on insufficient and doubtful evidence) they had applied to the Government for permission to employ the services of some one known to be an able writer, and were to give him free access to all official sources of information, and then say to him: "Now go on and frame us a good scheme."

However, although I do not anticipate spending six months at Simla in what is commonly (but often erroneously) held to be the most charming of sinecures, an unpaid attaché-ship in the Intelligence Branch, and although I have utterly failed to get hold of any information in the least degree confidential, nevertheless I will venture to lay before the public a few "crude ideas" on the subject that the Council of the United Service Institution of India has selected, *viz.* the utilization of civilians in India for the defence of the country.

In military matters numbers are, it is true, not everything. Discipline and skill and courage count for a great deal, as such battles as Rosbach, Plassey, &c., have proved. In making use however of men who have, as the Volunteers, indifferent military training, or, as the rest of the civilians in India, no military training at all, numbers are of importance. Fortunately the Census Report of 1881 is not as difficult of access as the other records to which I have referred above. It is true that eight years have elapsed since the last census was taken; but eight years does not greatly affect so small an item in the population of India as its European and Eurasian residents. The figures given in the Census Report are not perfectly precise, but from them it appears that there are in India about 110,000 males of European race, and about 30,000 Eurasian males. From the above 110,000 we must deduct 60,000 being the approximate strength of the regular British Forces in India in 1881, and say another 10,000 as being unfit to bear arms. This leaves approximately 40,000. Of the Eurasians, at least 10,000 may be estimated to be

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unfit to bear arms. This gives a total of about 60,000 Europeans and Eurasians capable of rendering service as auxiliary troops. According to the returns for the year 1887-88 (I quote from the *Civil and Military Gazette* for the 12th November 1888), the number of efficient Volunteers in India at present is, including officers, 13,098. Let us put the total strength of the Volunteers inclusive of inefficients at 15,000. There are then in India at the present moment 45,000* Europeans and Eurasians in India who do not, in any direct way, contribute to the defence of the Empire from invasion or rebellion. And yet the majority of these 45,000 men are eminently qualified to make excellent irregular troops. Probably no body of men in the world, if we except the Boers and the backwoodsmen and other (so-called) pioneers of civilization in America, are so familiar with the use of gun and rifle. Every man in India that has the will may be a sportsman, and all that he goes through in the pursuit of sport is admirable training for the physique and nerves. A man to be a good soldier should have good sound physique, and—so to speak—no nerves. But though this fine body of material is available, it has not as yet been induced to submit to any system of military organisation however mild. The only scheme that has come before the public, having for its object the enrolment as irregular troops of all Europeans and Eurasians in India capable of bearing arms, is that known as the Volunteer Reserve. This scheme has, it is reported, met with the approval of the highest military authorities in India, and is said to have attained some success in the various provinces of India, *i. e.*, in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma. It is perfectly comprehensible that by far the greater portion of the European and Eurasian population of India are disinclined to submit themselves to the drudgery of drill during the few hours of leisure that fall to their lot daily. They may be dead shots at a tiger or a black-buck, but they have no *penchant* for plugging in bull's-eyes on a target, be it iron or paper. The ring of the steel bull's-eye, ring it never so sweetly, has no charm for their ears compared with the thud of the express bullet as it crashes into flesh and through bone. But yet they are the very men to make good soldiers, give them but some training and regard for discipline. Consider how much higher is the average standard of these classes in point of education, lineage, morality, and perhaps, too, of physique, than that of the average recruit in the British Army. These are the classes who contributed

* Colonel Rivett Carnac of the 4th Battalion, N.-W. P. Volunteers, puts the Europeans and Eurasians in India capable of bearing arms at 75,000, of whom 15,000 only are Volunteers.

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so eminently to the defence of India during the Mutiny—so much so that to several of their number was awarded the distinction of the Victoria Cross. But without discipline, this mass, which has in it all the elements (anyhow the European portion of it) of a *corps d'élite*, is but a rabble. It is all very well to say that in troublous times the best men come to the front and take the lead. It will generally be found that there are two or three or more men who all want to come to the front and take the lead; and then dissension arises, and we all know that dissension is apt to be the harbinger of disaster.

Now it may be that the Volunteer Reserve scheme has its faults. Certain competent authorities on Volunteer matters look upon it as a mere temptation to—*sit venia verbo*—"scrimshanking." They contend that many who would otherwise be active Volunteers will content themselves with joining the Reserve. No doubt this is true, and the question then is this:—Is it better to have 15,000 imperfectly trained Volunteers, or to have from 60,000 to 70,000 men enrolled under a regular system of organisation, and ready in case of emergency to act in unison and under recognised commanders in defence of the Empire, and, (seeing that all, or almost all their interests are bound up in those of the Empire,) of their own well-being? There is very little doubt that the 70,000 are better than the 15,000. Under any circumstances, were the necessity for self-defence to arise, every one of these men would come forward to help. It is better then that to each of them his own special rank and duty should be allotted beforehand, so that in the hour of need every man may know his place, and there may be less risk of inaction born of dissension. In all undertakings some one must command. It may be that in forming the Volunteer Reserve, the authorities will put the reins of power in the hands of some incompetent men. We had several instances of such in Afghanistan, be it the first or second war! Even, however, at the risk of having incompetent men placed in command, it is advisable that the large civilian population, which is bound, whenever danger arises to fight in its own self-defence, if for nothing else, should be induced to recognise an established organisation. They may not care to go to drill or to rifle practice, but they may learn to recognise certain individuals as their commanders, and certain duties as their own when the call for action comes.

Assuming, then, that about 60,000 European and Eurasian civilians in India are induced, partly in deference to the wishes of Government whose servants they mostly are, and partly from a consideration of their own interests, to consent to be

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organised as a military body, we have next to consider what will be the best system of organisation, and how this force can be best employed. There are Volunteers who crave after active service, (and small blame to them!); and even the wording of the theme set by the Council of the United Service Institution of India implies that the auxiliary forces in India might be used for external defence. However, most people will agree that these auxiliary troops will have quite enough to do to check internal outbreaks, and keep the country safe and quiet, should India be invaded by Russia. To check the Russians will be the duty of the regular troops; to control the native population the duty of the irregulars. Not that I would imply that our auxiliary troops are unfit to meet the troops of a hostile European Power in the field. I have already stated that the material of the existing Volunteer Corps and of the embryo Volunteer Reserve is excellent, finer in some respects than that of which our regular British Forces is formed. In the hour of need the irregulars may still be called on to fight side by side with the regulars. Their first duty, however, should be the preservation of internal quiet. It is ridiculous to suppose that the elements of rebellion in India are a dead-letter. Here we have a population of 250,000,000; not a degraded oppressed population; but one that we have ourselves helped to civilise, educate, and elevate. We have Hindoo dynasties proud of their ancient lineage. We have 50,000,000 Mussulmans, the descendants of those who formerly conquered and ruled almost the whole of the country. In this huge mass there are numbers who are discontented. Besides, even without discontent, we must recollect that ill-regulated human nature hates monotony and craves after change. Many, for the mere love of variety and excitement, might rush blindly into rebellion, without weighing the chances for and against success. I will try and show later on in how many ways the auxiliary or irregular forces in India may be of service in holding the country, and contributing to the efficiency and welfare of the regular forces engaged in opposing the invader.

When the Black Mountain expedition was impending, the papers were filled with letters arguing, pleading, and claiming that the Volunteers should be given a chance. One of these is so very naive (so much so indeed that one might almost suspect the writer of slyly attempting to pull the public leg) that it merits quotation.

VOLUNTEERS FOR SERVICE.

SIR,—The proposal of *A Volunteer* in a late issue of your paper, that Government should give the Volunteers an opportunity of electing for service in the projected Black Mountain expedition, is an excellent one, and will, I am sure, be received with hearty

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approval by the whole Indian auxiliary force. It is to be sincerely hoped Government will readily recognize and accept the service that has been offered in so truly loyal and self-sacrificing a spirit. Of course the Volunteers whose services may be accepted will, while they are on field service, as a privilege, be provided with kits, rations, tents, &c., and even the pay of corresponding rank, just like the regulars. Their substantive civil appointments would thus temporarily become vacant, and there would then be a good opportunity of providing for some of the numerous 'registered candidates' who are waiting in Mark Tapley's mood, for appointments. Should any permanent vacancies occur from casualties on service, the acting men would then be naturally confirmed.

A CANDIDATE.

The "candidate," while claiming all the merits of a "Volunteer," stipulates for pay, kits, tents, rations, just like the regulars. He has certainly got an eye to the main chance. But the closing paragraphs display a truly unprecedented benevolence of spirit; he fondly anticipates that some of the "Volunteers" will make a point of getting "bowled over," and so make vacancies for that crowd of aspirants who now lie in waiting for every vacant official berth throughout the country. Of course the "candidate" in his own innermost thoughts considers himself absolved from this benevolent duty of making room for *ummedwars*. Did you ever know a man who did not believe that fate would assuredly make an exception in his particular favour, and make any other breast rather than his a receptacle for bullets? Of course the "candidate" may quote precedents for Volunteers going on active service. I believe the Telegraph and Post Office Volunteer Corps send detachments to Egypt (lucky fellows to be sent on the best "show" of the century!) and the Militia did garrison duty in the Mediterranean during the Crimea. But the sending of the men who compose the auxiliary forces in India on active service, except in the gravest emergency, is out of the question.* Every one of them fills a civilian billet from which he cannot be spared, least of all at a time when the country is in danger. They may be very fine troops, but they ought not to be used to repel invasion until the regulars have been decisively worsted and every nerve strained for the expulsion of the victorious invaders. Without moving a step beyond our Indian frontiers, the auxiliary forces have, as I will show, their work fully cut out for them.

Early in 1878 when war with Russia seemed imminent, and when General Kaufmann from Tashkend was leading on the Amir Sher Ali Khan with those promises that he afterwards,

* It is not as in England where thousands are without employment, and unable to support themselves.

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so disastrously for the Amir, failed, or rather had to decline to fulfil—in 1878 Lord Beaconsfield made that movement of Indian troops to Malta which somewhat astonished the European world. But it now seems doubtful if that bold step will ever be repeated. The Russians occupy a position in Central Asia and an influence over Persia—not to mention Afghanistan,—that in all probability will oblige us to keep all our Indian forces, regular and auxiliary, within, or on the frontiers of India. The respective policies of Russia and England have allotted to the former the offensive, to the latter the defensive rôle. It is a familiar axiom of strategy that the army which assumes the offensive can force the opponent to conform to its movements. The Russians, therefore, even though they may not eventually invade India, can so threaten it, that they will render it expedient for us not to send any troops to any great distance out of the country. No one now will deny that the Russians can occupy the Herat Valley and the whole of Afghan Turkistan whenever they like. It may suit their policy to advance no further, but from Herat and Balkh they can so menace India as to keep the whole of the available Indian forces tied up on the frontier. I do not say that no portion of the Indian forces will be sent to serve at a distance from India in the event of war with Russia. If urgency demands it, they will no doubt be sent. In a moment of emergency men have to choose the lesser of two evils. In our case we may have to choose whether to denude India of troops, and thus to expose it to the risk of rebellion, or to incur disaster elsewhere, perhaps on a European battle-field, as the lesser evil. In the first instance, however, the policy of the Indian Government is a defensive one (not, let us hope, purely passive defence—which would be fatal), and therefore we may assume that no troops will leave India, until it is very clear that their presence elsewhere is more urgently needed and more likely to be advantageous than their remaining in India.

There is, then, a two-fold reason why the Indian auxiliary forces should consider that their field of action is in India and not out of it: and wide enough and most important that field of action is. It is perfectly certain that two Army Corps (*i.e.* 60,000 men) at least must be placed on the North-West frontier in the event of Russia threatening India. A third Army Corps (another 30,000,) will have to be held in readiness either to support the others, or to operate through Persia, as opportunity may offer, thus taking 90,000 men away out of a total of about 220,000. But of this 220,000, which is only the nominal strength, probably about 200,000 men are now really fit for active service. After subtracting 90,000 we have 110,000 men (about 30,000 British and 80,000 Native Troops, a large portion of the

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Native being of inferior quality) to hold India and Burma, and the Shan and Karen country and whatever else we may have to conquer or annex in the meantime. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of the aid to such a force of 60,000 or 70,000 European and Eurasian Volunteers. If they have but a little military training and some regard for discipline (and their official career should have taught them that), their value will be inestimable. It will be their duty to secure all the inland strongholds of the country, to protect all the stations where Europeans reside in considerable numbers, to aid in the defence of the chief harbours, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Rangoon, Singapore, Tavoy, and Moulmein against bombardment by hostile cruisers, and above all to maintain all the railroads of India in good working order, and to protect all the most important strategical centres, which are in the main the principal railway termini and junctions. The maintenance of these railroads is essential to the safety and efficiency of the two or more Army Corps engaged in the defence of the North-West frontier. The security of Bombay and Karachi (especially of Karachi), the ports where all reinforcements, supplies, ordnance stores, &c., for the North-West frontier, coming from places out of India, should be landed, is of the most vital importance. Moreover, if the Government of India decides to despatch a force to operate in Persia or to the Mediterranean, Bombay and Karachi are the ports from which it can be most conveniently despatched. Let the citizens, and above all the Volunteers of Karachi, then console themselves ; for of a surety their time must come. From a strategical point of view alone Karachi is so important, that it cannot be neglected. The military authorities themselves are bound to bring their weight to bear on the Government of India to induce it to improve its harbour accommodation and deepen its bar, and (what is most to be desired) to sever Sind from Bombay.

Such, then are the chief duties that our auxiliary troops will be called upon to perform, when India is called upon to defend itself from invasion. I have assumed that the invasion will be from the North-west, because at the present moment that is the quarter from which it is imminent. In the more distant future, invasion may threaten India from other quarters, say from the side of Kashmir, Thibet or Assam ; but the possibility thereof is remote. If we are engaged in a war with Russia, all our ports will be liable to bombardment whether by Russian men-of-war from the Pacific, Black Sea or Baltic fleets if they can elude our squadrons, or by cruisers bought from other countries. In 1878 the Russians arranged to get fast cruisers from the United States, and

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what they did then, they will do again. It is therefore desirable that at all ports of any importance there should be one or more companies or corps of Volunteer Garrison Artillery.

We have still to consider on what lines a scheme for the organisation of the Europeans and Eurasians in India for military purposes can best be laid down. The fact that we have even 15,000 Volunteers is a matter for sincere self-congratulation. We can hardly expect more. If we want to work the whole 60,000 or 70,000, we must handle them with a very light touch. We may perhaps induce them to allow their names to be entered on the roll of a certain administrative battalion, and, if Government were to present them with a Martini-Henri rifle and bayonet and the usual accoutrements, they would very likely allow them house-room and order one of their servants to keep them clean, and possibly the well-to-do among them would not refuse to provide themselves with a simple khaki uniform, though of course they would use strong language at the tailor's bills that would be sent in. For those whose position and circumstances render it inconvenient for them to provide themselves with uniforms, Government should provide it *gratis* or give an allowance therefor. Each man enrolled should be allowed ammunition for practice. I can hardly hope that many of these men would come to drills; but those that do should, I would suggest, be spared the routine of squad and setting-up drill. If they can only be taught so much discipline as to the able to fire volleys or independently, in line or by companies and sections, and to know a little of skirmishing and attack drill, and to perform in a loose fashion the simplest Company and Battalion movements, it is sufficient. We must remember that we shall be dealing with men whose intellectual and every other standard is much above that of the British and Native soldier. Many of them have been habituated to the sight of troops drilling all their lives, and all have been more or less trained both to obey and to command. It is of course very important that the high officials should give the sanction of their name to this scheme, by letting their names be entered on the roll of officers; and if they will set the example of now and then appearing on a parade, no doubt the humbler classes will follow suit. The number of retired officers of the regular forces residing in India is so small that their services, even if they were fit to, and would give them, are not to be reckoned on. It would be necessary for Government to detail certain officers of the regular army to take charge of the general management of the administrative centres, much in the same way as officers have been lately detailed to look after

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the armies of Native States as established on the new footing. How many such officers would be required, it is unnecessary to calculate here. It would probably be a good plan to have one or more adminstrative battalions in each military district, and to place them under the orders of the General Officer Commanding that District, to whose staff would be attached an officer for the special purpose of looking after the auxiliary branch. If it be possible, these battalions should be given facilities for mobilising themselves occasionally and taking part in Brigade and Divisional manœuvres. With blank ammunition they could not do much harm. Probably, then, battalions would consent to assemble occasionally and allow themselves to be inspected by their Excellencies the Commanders-in-Chief of Presidencies, or even by such small fry as General Officers Commanding Districts. Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Chief Commissioners will do well to show an interest in the movement in any way in their power. The ways of so doing are many, but time is short, and the will is sometimes weak. However, if Government were now to call on every European and Eurasian, not belonging to the regular forces, to allow his name to be entered on the rolls of one of the proposed administrative battalions, there is reason to believe that the majority would consent. This is but the thin end of the wedge. The question of arming, clothing, rifle-practice, and drill would come on gradually. That each man should know how and where his services should be given in the hour of danger is no small step. It is customary to tell off the troops in a garrison or position to certain parts of the line of defence; and on the alarm being given every man knows his post. So it is no small gain that each civilian should know whither to betake himself, when the call for action comes, and that he should have a long-range rifle, bayonet and ammunition really to take with him. The mere presence of a body of men so armed might check an outbreak which would not have been deterred by the fear of a few shot-guns and sporting rifles. It is not to be supposed that troops with such a very slight leaven of training, as I have represented, will be fit for duty as Cavalry, Artillery or even in a Railway Service Corps. But there is no reason why they should not make tolerable infantry, especially as their work will be mainly defensive. Infantry, as is well-known, requires much less training than the other branches of the service; and with ill-trained troops defensive tactics are preferable. Wellington has told us that the troops that fought and won at Waterloo were anything but first-class, at least a large proportion of them; and that no doubt was one of his reasons for acting on the defensive. There is no reason, however, why men of the Volunteer Reserve should not render

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good service as garrison artillery men. Thews and sinews are useful everywhere. With regard to the Volunteer Railway Service Corps, there was a scheme on foot in 1886 for the formation of such a corps on the North-Western Railway ; but it does not seem to have been prosecuted with very great vigour. It is understood, however, that all employés on State Railways are now obliged to be Volunteers and to learn to bear arms. This alone in a way provides a Railway Service Corps on every State line, but it does not provide such Railways Corps as now form part of every Continental Army. We have no Railway Battalions such as laid the Railway from Michailovsk to Bokhara. Yet we may want one any day to run a rapid line from the Khojak to the Helmand. Such a corps could only be recruited from trained Railway employés. Recent news from England states that there is an arrangement being entered into with the Railway Companies to furnish Railway Service contingents in case they are needed. In India, where so many of the Railways are in the hands of Government, it seems strange that properly constituted corps should not be organised. It is not difficult, when Government has only to issue the order. Such corps, the chief *nuclei* of which would be at all the principal centres of administration, traffic, and commerce in the country, would form cadres or depôts for the Volunteer Reserve.

It is to be hoped, then, that the scheme which in 1886 the Quartermaster-General in India and the present Director of State Railways were endeavouring to promote, and on which an Essay appeared in the Journal of the United Service Institution of India, may yet be revived and vigorously carried into effect.

April 1889.

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ART IV.—THE SI-NGAN-FU CHRISTIAN MONUMENT.

IT is singular that the oldest oriental monument of Christianity which carries its date on its face, should be found far down within the heart of China, some 700 miles from the sea, in a town far less accessible than either Pekin or Nankin, but which has been of first-rate provincial or metropolitan celebrity for considerably over 1,000 years, viz., Singan-fu. This lies on or near the Wei-ho, about 70 miles from that river's junction with the Hoang-ho (Yellow River). The date (including month, day, and reigning Emperor's year and name,) of the erection of the monument, is recorded to be 781-2 A. D., and the record includes reference to some events in the local history of the previous century, throughout which we have glimpses of the precarious footing won by Christianity in China.

Being thus over 1,100 years old, and presenting a record of great freshness and clearness to the expert reader, and being of unusual size of block and fulness of inscription, and further, in parts, bilingual, as a mere literary object its interest is of first rate importance. The major portion of its lettering is Chinese, but of such antiquated style, that the most archæological of sinologues differ occasionally in their interpretation, and there appear even to be some few passages which rest on conjecture only. The remaining portion of the lettering is in the old Syriac, or Estrangelo character, the knowledge of which appears to be absolutely lost in China, if indeed it was ever studied there. A monumental stone of such age, with its lettering perfect apparently to the last stroke of the graver, is in this as in other (notably Egyptian) instances, due to its having been buried during the probably greater portion of the eleven centuries which have passed over it. The earth is the great preserver, and therefore the spade is the great recoverer of antiques. The Singan-fu stone has been, however, above ground again now for nearly two centuries and a half. Its history since its exhumation has been adventurous, and at one or two points almost romantic. After a century and a half of controversy, sometimes fierce and ill-natured, (as between the Jesuit and the Protestant the fashion used to be,) in which its very existence was sometimes challenged as a fiction, its genuineness is at last established; and after the town in which it is situated had been captured and sacked by rebels against the Chinese Government

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after religious fanaticism which stimulated those struggles had demolished nearly every thing round it, whether tomb or temple, to which a sacred character attached, its peculiar and unique sanctity was such, that it alone commanded respectful treatment, and stands, according to the last tidings of European visitors, the one whole block amidst a surrounding holocaust of ruin. And perhaps the most curious fact of all is, that ignorance of its real purport and tenor was the most powerful factor in its preservation. Its Chinese custodians had misconstrued it from the first, and owing probably to a few phrases of an ambiguous character in the heading and early columns of lettering, had set it down as a monumental piece of Buddistic theology, with which some circumstances of its discovery in the year 1625 seemed to concur; and, wholly ignorant of the non-Chinese characters, easily assumed them to belong to some lost hieratic language of the early Buddhists, which theory, thus neatly rounded, there was no one far or near who could impugn. The disturbers of the peace of the Chinese Empire (or at least their nucleus and its motive) were Mohammedan. They seem to have ravaged with more discernment than most rebels. They impartially wrecked whatever seemed of native Chinese design or purport, but they saw different tokens, and a mystical or outlandish lettering upon this, and so let it stand. The Chinese popular view of it is of course unchanged. The now ruined precinct in which it stands erect on the back of a monstrous stone tortoise and under a bricked cupola, is that of the same Buddhist monastery in which it has been sheltered all along. The ambiguous phrases referred to are such as the title—"Tablet to commemorate the diffusion in the Middle Kingdom of the illuminating doctrine from Tathsin" . . . "See here the Unchangeably True, the Invisible, who is without beginning from eternity, the far-seeing consummate Spirit, whose secret existence is from eternal duration." These expressions, which head the inscription, would suit the doctrine of Buddha and its *animus mundi* nearly as well as any Christian view of the Supreme Being. They may easily have contributed to the mistake in respect to the character of the Tablet. But further, in the year 1625, the local Governor of Singan-fu lost a son of early years and of such precocious piety, as to lead to the assumption, consistent with the prevailing local cult (that of Buddha), that in a previous existence he must have been a Buddhist priest. In excavating a sufficiently spacious tomb in his honor, our table of stone was found to stop the way. Predisposed as they were to buddhize (*sit venia verbo*) the event, they found, so far as their knowledge went, nothing in the inscription against, and a good deal which seemed superficially

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for, this theory. It should be added that the Cross which is carved in the head of the stone is independently a sign of semi-sacred character in Chinese estimation, being a symbol for the "four corners of the world" (a phrase occurring in the Old Testament prophets) and the nations therein dwelling. Thus that sign did not in their eyes stamp it as distinctively Christian. And, once viewed officially as Buddhistic in China, its character was fixed in perpetuity. It should be added that a Chinese historian cited as "Laitai," is the authority for the facts leading to and attending the exhumation as above.

Before entering on the controversy which its discovery provoked, one may throw a glance backward at its origin. Balkh or Balck on the Affghan frontier, is known as the mediæval headquarters of Nestorian Christianity in Central Asia. Thence came the Mission of monks and priests. who, through the impression which they made on the then Emperor, secured such a measure of success as to seem worthy of permanent record. The sacred books of the old Malabar remnant of the "Christians of S. Thomas" are said to contain a statement that Christianity and Buddhism made their way to China nearly together in the 7th-8th century, and indeed Marco Polo emphatically dwells upon the "Nestorian venom" as being everywhere diffused throughout Colchis, Armenia, Bucharest and Tartary from the 4th century downwards. Thus when the Jesuits began their missions in China, they found the embers of a Church with hardly a spark of life retained; the sign of the Cross used in a way which gave it significance, and a few other rites and ceremonies extant, the whole spirit and import of which had passed away from memory. And this was all the evidence they were able to trace until they came upon the monument of Singan-fu. Its discovery drew the curiosity of visitors and the attention of the learned Chinese, among whom was one who in earlier years had been a friend of one of the missionaries and knew something of Christianity. He suspected its real character and communicated with one of them, named Ricci; and in March 1626 news of the fact reached Rome and was published in the yearly intelligence concerning China in 1629. Meanwhile the unknown Syriac lettering continued to puzzle all local interpreters; until in 1628 Semedo, another missionary on his way Rome-wards through Malabar, showed a copy to a learned Portuguese there, who at once pronounced the unknown letters to be Syriac, and the monument unquestionably Christian.

Soon afterwards burst out the *odium theologicum* of criticism. "These Jesuits," said Newmann, a Protestant critic, "had "an obvious interest in impressing the Chinese mind with a "notion of the antiquity of their belief on Chinese soil, and

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"what they could not find they of course forged :—the whole is "a pious fraud." He even charged them with clumsiness in their forgery, in that they had used the modern Syriac character, whereas had the tablet been of the date ascribed, it must have been in the Estrangelo or ancient Syriac. His correctness in this theory only brought out more clearly his ignorance of the fact and his rashness in assertion; for the lettering *is* the Estrangelo, *not* the modern.

The best early editions of the text, although containing defects and errors, were those of Kircher in his "Prodromus Coptus," Rome, 1636, and his "China Illustrata" 1667. The latter corrected many mistakes in the former, but was still far from exact or complete. He gave on a large folded page a facsimile as it appeared of the tablet, which, he says in the margin, "ex autographo descripsit Matthæus Sina oriundus ex Siganfu (sic) Romæ AO. 1664." The body of the inscription consists of 30 vertical columns of Chinese writing, numbered not from 1 to 30 but from 0 to 29, above the middle portion of which (col. 12 to 19 inclusive) is thrown up an oblong with a triangular heading, bearing a square group of 9 Chinese characters, 3 in a row, of much larger scale, as if a title; surmounted by a cross, the upright being slightly longer than the transverse member, with floriated extremities suggesting the Maltese type. This Chinese *corpus* of 30 columns is flanked right and left, for about the lower third of its length, by a single line of Syriac; while in Kircher's left hand margin are 7 short columns of Syriac names or words, interspersed with as many but only partially filled columns of Chinese—the latter, as far as they go, apparently translating the Syriac. The lower margin has on the contrary a *corpus* of Syriac in 20 lines, flanked by two or three short columns of Chinese on either side, and again broken in the middle by two or three Chinese characters. But, although doubtless faithful to some transcript given him, whether Kircher ever saw the stone is doubtful; since the alternate Chinese and Syriac columns placed by him wholly in the left margin of the tablet's face, are by later research clearly established to be not on the face at all, but on *the edges* both right and left, and are in fact lists of names of the (no doubt) Nestorian missionary clergy at the time of the erection, with Chinese equivalents where these could be given. Their total is about 70. *

The size and massiveness of the monument are worth noting. It measures nearly three yards in height, by over a yard in

* Some of the names are Mar Jozdebozed, Priest and Chorepiscopus, *alias* Lingpao (Chinese) Priest; Adam Deacon, son of Jozdebozed, Marsargis, Priest and Chorepiscopus, Sabranischo, Priest, *alias* Hingthung (Chinese) Priest, Gabriel, Priest and Archdeacon, &c.

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breadth, and is nearly 10 inches thick—a solid slab of limestone—and takes four men to lift it. In the head which is curved, the above-mentioned small rectangle with triangular heading nearly occupies the topmost 16 inches, or about 1/6 of the total height. This feature also is imperfectly shown in Kircher's facsimile. To forge a monument of such unwieldy bulk with so great a mass of characters is an unlikely feat even for a Jesuit. Forgers mostly deal in lighter wares. But, the impugners of its genuineness overlooked, as zealous incriminators will, the fact that the interpretation, and even the readings, were long debated among the discoverers and their assistants, nor are even wholly settled now. Had it been a forgery, the forgers would presumably have been ready with a lucid translation at once. A further evidence of genuineness appears in the name for "God," for which the Syrian priests found no suitable word in their Chinese vocabulary, and retained therefore their own "Allâhâ;" whereas the Jesuits of those missions in the seventeenth century have, it seems, always adopted a Chinese native word.* Besides, what forger in the early seventeenth century would have thought of dating by the "anno 1092 Alexandraeo, sive Graecorum," which requires the deduction of the 310 years by which that epoch is earlier than the Anno Domini, thus yielding 782 as the date of the tablet? If they had forged, would they not have chosen a still earlier date to connect their faith's evidence with primordial Christianity? None of the historical *data* known in 1625 could possibly point to the latter part of the 8th century as the period of the introduction of Christianity into the heart of China. It had in fact, as we shall further see, been introduced earlier. A forger would probably have gone straight back to S. Thomas and the reputed evangelization of the Orient by him.

What we have called the Chinese *corpus* consists of two parts, one in prose, and the other an ode in sixteen four-lined stanzas, except the fourth, which alone has six lines. Of the prose there are again two sections, the former doctrinal, and the latter historical. Oriental floweriness flavours the style in both, combined in the former with a certain twang of metaphysics. A rough sketch of the Creation, the Fall, and the progressive corruption of Man by the agency of Satan, is followed by some more directly Christian doctrinal statements, such as—

Thereupon our Trinity divided itself according to its essence;†

* Either "Thien," properly "heaven," or "Schang-ti." Trigault, the first Jesuit who saw the stone some few months after its discovery, is said to have been an earnest supporter of the latter as the Chinese equivalent for "God."

† Some Editors suppose here a deliberate assertion of the "Nestorian heresy," but the lack of precise equivalents in Chinese for these refinements of Greek theology makes this very doubtful.

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> the glorious and adorable Messiah veiled his true royalty and appeared in the world as a man; angels announced the sacred tidings, a virgin gave birth to the Holy one in Tathsin *; a brilliant star made known the joyful event, and Persians, who saw its brightness came to bring presents. The olden promise, held out by the twenty-four saints, † was thus fulfilled.

The Resurrection is only touched in figurative terms, the Crucifixion is wholly missed, but the Ascension is literally stated. Baptism, the Sign of the Cross, Prayer towards the East, the tonsure, the religious observance of the first day of the week, fasting, and community of goods, are mentioned as characteristic features. The absence of slavery, and the absolute equality of men with one another are noticed. But the grand operative clauses of the Creed, the Resurrection from the Dead, and Eternal Judgment, find no place. The "Twenty-seven Holy Books" of the New Testament are spoken of as "left behind to us" after the Messiah's Ascension.

The historical sketch recounts the glory and greatness of Thaitsung, founder of the Thang dynasty (618-907), and of some of his successors. He had the energy and adroitness to avail himself of the shocks administered by Arab fanaticism to the tottering thrones of Central and Western Asia. The Persian Shah seems to have become a client of the flowery land, and with the embassies dispatched, there mingled a mission which had a religious object, that, *viz.*, of Alopen (spoken of again as coming from Tathsin) who brought to China the sacred books and images of the Christians, which former, as those of the Jews long before at Alexandria, were translated and deposited in the Imperial Library. With a lofty air of discerning patronage the Emperor proclaims that he has examined the books, and finds them contain "doctrines which will endure if their outward clothing be forgotten," and orders the establishment of a church with twenty-one priests, and a "true image" of the Emperor to be hung upon the walls. It is added that "the dedicated features diffused a peaceful influence and shed an enduring brilliancy over the holy walls." We have here a glimpse of the inherent weakness of this early Christian church in China. It rested on imperial favour, which of course would fluctuate with political circumstances and

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* This is one of the terms the interpretation of which differs. "The Roman Empire" seems the best supported rendering, but a mere vague geographical concept rather than as a political entity. Others think Judœa or other parts of Western Asia intended. But Chinese ignorance is at the root of the difficulty.

† The books of the Old Testament grouped by the later Jews, so as to equal in number the letters of the Greek alphabet, are supposed to be referred to as having each a distinct author; hence the "Twenty-four Saints."

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dynastic influences, and it seems never to have struck any root in the popular conscience. We accordingly hear of a successor of Thaitsung, who further patronized and benefitted the Christians, but who made over his power to a Queen Wäschi, of strong Buddhist prepossessions, who persecuted them. Several distinct missions seem, during this seventh century, to have followed one another, but always to the Emperor, or else as mere reinforcements of the existing Christian establishment. Thus we hear of a party of "well regarded and high-hearted "priests, who had given up all worldly possessions, who united "in holding fast their lofty doctrines, and resolutely kept "them true to the end." * Here we seem to have an euphemism for martyrdom. The noteworthy fact is, that in a public record like that of this stone, such euphemism was necessary. Chinese officialism in the eighth century would have been shocked at such a thing as charging imperial acts with persecution to the death. This stamps the record with the character of a State document, and shows the total absence of independence of spirit in its tenour. This persecution is dated in 719, but it seems from other evidence more likely to have been twenty years earlier. Since in 719 we have two embassies closely following one another, bringing homage to the then Emperor Tschuntsung from the ruler of Balk, one or both of which were attended by Nestorian clergy. This Emperor and his four successors, are probably the five whose "images" are recorded on the stone as presented to the Churches, the last of them being that Kientschung in whose reign (780-805) the stone was erected. Their magnificent deeds, munificent patronage, victorious enterprises, or peaceful supremacies, are written in official rose-water through the many paragraphs of prose, and form the subjects of fourteen out of the sixteen stanzas of the ode aforesaid. The verse is in fact a mere condensed duplicate of the prose, save that Imperial eulogy, a more suitable inspiration to the native bard, forms an enormously larger proportion of the former. These Nestorian missions in short were little else, and made no effort to be more, than a feebler replica of Byzantinism transported further eastwards. They failed and deserved to fail. There is no trace of their ever appealing to the people or exhibiting an aggressive aspect to the surrounding superstitions or idolatries. The dragon, the bow and arrows and other imperial devices blazed in gold and silk on their church walls. They brought "holy images" with them, and found it necessary to recruit this portion

* So the German version of Heller, S. J. which is followed here. It is right to add that the French version of Dabry de Thiersant is very wide of this purport.

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of their equipment, by native produce of the same kind. Probably the persecution referred to may have found its pretext in some remonstrance against this oppressive amount of Imperial favour. The "dragon," even five-clawed, is not a strictly Christian device, save for the Enemy of Souls. Thus life, in spite of successive attempts in the following centuries, to recruit it by new blood of fresh missions despatched *ad hoc*, died out of the Chinese Nestorian community; but was only just dead,—its ashes may be said to have been warm, when the Jesuits came upon the aforesaid traces of it. The strangest fact in the chequered history of Asiatic Christianity is the dying out of the great mediæval sees of Central Asia, which formed, if not a compact phalanx, at any rate a strong line of outpost churches from Mesopotamia to the Great Wall of China, spreading their influence often—but spasmodically—far within its circuit. Colonel Yule thinks it likely that "A new wave of conversion had entered China during the twelfth "and thirteenth centuries, consequent on the Christianization "of large numbers among the Turkish and Mongolian "tribes of which we have many indications, and on the influence "exercised by those tribes upon Northern China, both in the "time of Chinghiz and his successors." Earlier still he traces in the ninth century the "conversion of a Khakan (potentate) of the Turks and of several minor princes," and that of "the Kerait Tartars at the beginning of the eleventh."* Rubruquis, King Louis the IXth's ambassador and traveller, finds that "the "Nestorians inhabit fifteen cities of Kathay and have a Bishop "there, in a city called Segin (our Singan-fu);" but presently adds that "the Nestorians there know nothing, for they say "their services, and have holy books in the Syrian tongue, "which they know not; so that they sing as our monks do, "who are ignorant of grammar, and hence it cometh that they "are wholly corrupted. They are great usurers and drunkards, "and some of them also who live among the Tartars have many "wives in the same manner as the Tartars have."† Here we seem to have a true picture of the corruption inherent in any system of religion which is propped and trellised from without, instead of fetching from the soil of the heart that happy vigour which makes it a standard tree. But there were a communion of Chinese Nestorian Christians extant in the fifteenth century, for the Pope Eugenuis IV, received an embassy from them at Rome. In 1540 arose a persecution which drove from their faith those who had such feeble hold upon it. If the missionary spirit of Western Europe had been awakened

* Kathay and the Way Thither, i, xcvii—iii.
† Rubriquis, ap. Pinkerton, vol. vii., p. 56 (33).

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a century sooner, it would have found a living Church to rescue; as it was there was but the carcass and the monument—itself buried. "But how and why?" the reader asks. About the middle of the ninth century there arose a grand reforming Emperor, Wutsung. His edict, yet extant, struck a blow to the Buddhist monasteries and 'foreign bouzes' from which they never recovered. All seem to have been secularized, both properties and persons. The former were confiscated to the State, the latter ordered to return to civil life, together with 150,000 slaves who gained thus a status for the first time. Among the "foreign bouzes" the Nestorian clergy would no doubt be included. They had enjoyed for some two centuries the precarious sunshine of imperial favour, tempered probably by local mob-fanaticism. On the whole, with rare exceptions, the Chinese imperial policy seems to have been not tolerant merely but indulgent as regards religions; and the edict referred to, which is extant, bespeaks merely such a reaction of State policy against locking up in "the dead land" resources which should be available for national uses, as our Plantagenet Statute book abundantly attests in England, and as burst forth against English religious houses in 1530-40. In short Emperor Wutsung furnished in fact an unknown precedent for our King Henry VIII. The "foreign bouzes" were of course included to prevent invidiousness and maintain impartiality. If native Chinese were so treated, how could the foreigner be consistently spared? Obviously when deprived thus of its prop and its shelter, the exotic faith could not flourish. It was but a gorgeous ritual, with probably little of distinctive faith, and according to Rubriquis, as above, nothing of distinctive morals; with a mere varnish of imperial prestige on the surface, which once obliterated, the "Church" collapsed, and its monument was buried; as easily as putting up the shutters of a shop and throwing the key into the cellarage. The Jews, however, seem to have been substantially untouched by the Edict. Synagogues may of course have been pulled down and property confiscated; but the intense tenacity of a race carrying its law in its bosom, and embodying its usages everywhere in the persons of its members, defied, by the strength of its moral and ceremonial organization, the assault before which the weaker growth collapsed: thus the Jews flourish in unbroken continuity in China before and since.

China, moreover, appears to be a conservatory of inscriptions. They abound on all materials—walls of native rock, hewn tablets, incised bronze, wood, &c., are of all ages, of all religions, often bilingual or even polyglott. Thus a Jewish Synagogue will have its memorial tablet with Chinese and Hebrew mixed like the Chinese and Estrangelo of our stone. Entire literature

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of ponderous bulk so exists. A city not far from Pekin is said to contain a museum of such. The holy books of the Buddhists cover 2,730 tablets and fill four caverns in the hill called Siao-Sithien in the same region. They were the work of the life of five successive devotees and covered a century in the execution.

Amid the feebleness and torpid action of the Chinese central power, local outbreaks rise often to the proportions of a rebellion. Such was that of 1861, referred to above, as instigated by the Mohammedans, put down by the illustrious "General To," but after his death recrudescent in 1867-70, and which dealt desolation to the neighbourhood of Singan-fu. The survival of the Nestorian Tablet in that crisis will now probably frank it indestructible to all time. There it was seen reposing on its tortoise, (like the elephant or elephants said in the Zendavesta to upbear the world) by Count Széchényi, the last recorded European visitor in 1879. He found it under the guidance of the Buddhist clergy, (whom he propitiated, it seems, by a votive offering in the form of a "trink-gelt") about a mile from the S.-W. gate of the city, in a suburb rich in monumental ruins; and expresses his surprise at its perfect preservation and excellent condition. To him, apparently, the thanks of the curious are due for obtaining at last a complete copy of the lettering, not only correct and complete, but in order as it stands, distinguishing the columns on either long edge of the tablet from those on its face, and both from those across the lower portion. All previous tracings which we have seen either follow Kircher, who huddles both the edges together on one margin, or like that of Colonel Yule, omit them altogether.*

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

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* The acknowledgments of the present writer are due to the author of an article on the above subject in the "Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie," Innsbruck, 1885, from which many of the facts, as above stated, are taken.

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ART. V.—SOME SANITARY AND SOCIAL RULES IN THE SHASTRAS.

THE people of Bengal, and Hindus in general, are essentially a clean race; it is a part and parcel of their religion to live cleanly and to avoid all defilement and impurity. The sage old lawgivers of the Aryan Hindus, soon after their migration to a hot country like India, at once perceived the urgent need of hygienic and sanitary measures for the preservation of health, and accordingly prescribed rigid and stringent rules on all matters connected with living, such as food, drinks, personal habits, domestic and social customs. To make these rules binding on the consciences of the people, the wise lawgivers gave the impress and sanction of religion to them, so that any violation would be punished by social ruin and degradation here and loss of পরকাল *(Parakál)* or future bliss hereafter. Hinduism, like the old Mosaic Dispensation, is chiefly made up of sanitary rules and ceremonials, and their resemblance in many points is most striking. The Jews, though scattered, still preserve many of their old habits and customs, and they consequently enjoy considerable immunity from several infectious and hereditary diseases which afflict other races. The Hindus would have been equally fortunate if they had strictly adhered to all their old habits and customs as enjoined and recommended by Manu and others. But unfortunately they have departed from them, and have in consequence degenerated. The present seems an opportune time for recalling to the minds of all Hindus some of the injunctions laid down in their own religious books.

The Editor of this *Review* has, in a late number, alluded to the old rule that the Hindu is to rise betimes, go out to the outskirt of his village armed with his bow and arrow, and having shot leeward with all his might, is to perform the offices of nature beyond the point where the arrow alights, and then to proceed as enjoined in the Mosaic ritual. Before he again enters his dwelling, he must perform his morning ablutions and say his prayers. If a celibate, he is to cook his own food and see every thing is clean; he is not to drink any water fetched by the unclean hands of lower caste men, or allow his cooked food to be touched by any body. If a *grihusta* or family man, his wife is to sweep the house and its yard and *leep* the kitchen with cow-dung, which is considered as a rough sort of antiseptic and disinfectant. She is then to bathe, and afterwards cook and serve out meals to her lord and children.

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The place where meals are served is sprinkled with clean water, and the plantain or other leaf, or stone or metallic plate, are scrupulously cleaned before eating off them. The *Shastras* prescribe rules not only for food and drinks, but for all personal habits, domestic and social customs, such as feasts and fasts, weddings and deaths, cremation, mourning, &c. The following rules are transcribed from the *Manu Sanhitta*, which deals with health :—

Chapter II treats of *jati karma*, or the ceremony performed at the birth of a child. A sweet and easily uttered name is to be given to a child on the 11th or 12th day after birth; it is to be taken out of the house in the fourth month to see the sun, and to be fed with rice and milk in the 6th month. The *upanayan* ceremony (investiture with the sacred thread) is performed at eight years for Brahmins, ten for Khettryas, and twelve for Vaisyas. They are then to begin the study of the sacred *Vedas* and *Shastras*, when they leave home and resort to the *Asram* of a *Guru*, where they continue for several years. After having finished their studies they return home, marry, and become householders. Chapter III treats of different kinds of marriages prevalent among the Aryans, of the five *jogs*, and of daily duties. Chapter IV treats of various professions and means of livelihood open to different castes, and also of householders' duties as to personal and domestic hygiene. Chapter V treats of food and drinks, of uncleanliness after births and deaths, and of washing and cleansing of various articles with water. The remaining chapters do not bear on health.

Chapter IV, line 56, forbids spitting or washing of soiled clothes in water, or throwing any poison into it.

The following rules regarding eating and drinking are worth extracting :—

Chapter II, line 53.—Let the student, having performed his ablution, always eat his food without distraction of mind, and having eaten, let him thrice wash his mouth completely, sprinkling with water the six hollow parts of his head or his eyes, ears and nostrils.

Line 55 —Food eaten constantly with respect, gives muscular force and generative power, but eaten irreverently destroys them both.

Line 56.—He must beware of giving any man what he leaves, and also beware of eating too much, and of going anywhere with a remnant of his food unswallowed.

Line 57.—Excessive eating is prejudicial to health, to fame, and to future bliss in heaven. It is injurious to virtue and odious among men ; he must, for those reasons, by all means avoid it.

Chapter III, lines 238 to 239.—Brahmins are not to eat with head covered or feet shod, or in presence of any dirty man or animal exciting disgust.

Chapter IV, line 45.—Never eat meals in ordinary clothes.

Chapter IV, line 62.—Let him eat no vegetable from which the oil has been extracted, nor indulge his appetite to satiety,

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nor eat either too late or too early, nor take any food in the evening if he have eaten to fullness in the morning.

Line 63.—Let him make no vain corporeal exertion. Let him not sip water taken up with his closed fingers; let him eat nothing placed in his lap.

Line 76.—Let him take his food having sprinkled his feet with water, (*i.e.*, after refreshing and rest). He who takes his food with his feet so sprinkled will attain long life.

Chapter IV, line 64.—Never eat off any broken plate or vessels exciting disgust.

Chapter V, line 5.—Let him not eat garlic, onions, and mushrooms (which no twice-born must eat).

Line 6.—Fresh milk from a cow, whose ten days are not passed, the milk of a camel, or any quadruped with a hoof not cloven, that of an ewe and that of a cow in heat, or whose calf is dead, must be avoided.

Line 9.—The milk of any forest beast, except buffalo, the milk of a woman, and anything naturally sweet but acidulated, must all be carefully shunned.

Line 10.—But among such acids, buttermilk may be swallowed, and every preparation of buttermilk and all acids extracted from flowers, roots, or fruit not cut with iron.

Line 11.—Let every twice-born man avoid carnivorous birds and such as live in towns, and quadrupeds with uncloven hoofs.

Line 17.—Let him not eat the flesh of any solitary animals nor of unknown beasts or birds, though by general words declared eatable, nor of any creatures with five claws.

Line 22.—Beasts and birds of excellent sorts may be slain by Brahmins for sacrifice, or for the sustenance of those whom they are bound to support.

Line 27.—All animals killed in sacrifice may be eaten; *eat meat once a day*, also at *shrads*, and in the absence of other food.

Line 28.—Brahma has appointed both animals and vegetables as food, but expects thanksgiving and sacrifice for every food used.

Chapter IV, line 70.—Do not eat when you have indigestion.

Rules as regards clothes and personal cleanliness.

Chapter IV, line 235.—Soiled nails and hairs are to be cut, and clean clothes are to be worn.

Line 69.—Avoid the morning sun, the smoke of a burning corpse, a broken seat. Never cut nails, hairs, &c., unless grown, and never bite your nails.

Line 70.—Do not break or rub mud or clay unnecessarily, nor cut grass with your nail.

Line 71.—He who thus idly breaks clay or cuts grass or bites his nails will speedily sink to ruin, and so shall a detractor and an unclean person.

Line 152.—At the beginning of each day let every man perform offices of nature, bathe, rub his teeth, apply a collyrium to his eyes, adjust his dress and adore the gods.

Rules as to baths and cleansing and purification.

Chapter IV, line 129.—Do not bathe, having just eaten, nor when afflicted with disease, nor in the middle of the night, nor with many clothes, nor in a pool of water imperfectly known.

Chapter V, line 83.—A man of the sacerdotal caste becomes pure (by bathing and ceremonies) in ten days, of the warlike

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caste in 12, of the commercial caste in 15, of the Sudia caste in a month.

Line 85.—He who has touched a Chandala, a woman at her period, an outcast for deadly sin, a new born child, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse, is made pure by bathing.

Line 109.—Bodies are cleansed by water, the mind is purified by truth, the vital spirit by theology and devotion, the understanding by clear knowledge.

Modes of restoring purity to inanimate things.

Chapter V, line 111.—Of brilliant metals, of gems and of everything made with stone, the purification ordained by the wise is with ashes, water and earth.

Line 114.—Vessels of copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin, and lead may be fitly cleansed with ashes, with acids, or with water.

Line 115.—The purification ordained for all sorts of liquids is by stirring them with *kusa* grass, for clothes folded by sprinkling them with hallowed water, for wooden vessels by planing them.

Line 117.—All implements are purified by hot water.

Line 119 —Leathern utensils, and such as are made with cane, must generally be purified in the same manner as clothes, green vegetables, roots and fruits in the same manner with grain.

Line 122.—Grass, firewood and straw are purified by sprinkling them with water, a house by rubbing, brushing, and smearing with cow-dung, an earthen pot by a second burning.

Rules as regards journeys and places of residence.

Chapter V, line 60.—Let him not inhabit a town in which civil and religious duties are neglected, nor for a long time, one in which diseases are frequent; let him not begin a journey alone, let him not reside long on a mountain.

Line 61.—Let him not dwell in a city governed by a Sudra King, nor in one surrounded with men unobservant of their duties, nor in one abounding with professed heretics, nor in one swarming with lowborn outcastes.

Line 140.—Let him not journey too early in the morning, or too late in the evening, nor too near the mid-day, or with an unknown companion, nor alone, nor with men of the servile class.

Rules regarding the choice of a wife and marriage and position of women.

A twice-born man having completed his studies at the preceptor's house or *ásrom*, may return home, and with the consent of his venerable guide, espouse a wife of the same class as himself.

Chapter III, line 5.—She, who is not descended from his paternal or maternal ancestors within the sixth degree, and who is not known by her family name to be of the same primitive stock with his father or mother, is eligible for nuptial and holy union.

Line 6.—In connecting himself with a wife, let him studiously avoid the ten following families, be they ever so great or ever so rich in kine, goats, sheep, gold and grain.

Line 7.—The family which has omitted prescribed acts of religion, that which has produced no male children, that in which the *Veda* has not been read, that which has thick hair on the

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body, and those which have been subject to hemorrhoids, to phthisis, dyspepsia, epilepsy, leprosy and elephantiasis.

Line 8.—Let him not marry a girl with reddish hair, nor with any deformed limb, nor one troubled with habitual sickness, nor with no hair or too much, nor one immoderately talkative, nor one with inflamed eyes.

Line 10.—Let him choose for his wife, a girl whose form has no defect, who has an agreeable manner, who walks gracefully like a young elephant, whose teeth and hair are moderate respectively in quantity and in size, and whose body has exquisite softness.

Line 55.—Married women must be honored and adorned by their fathers and brethren, by their husbands and *their* brethren if they seek abundant prosperity.

Line 56.—Where females are honored there the deities are pleased, but when they are dishonored, then all religious acts become fruitless.

Line 57.—Where female relations are made miserable, the family of him who makes them so very soon wholly perishes, but where they are not unhappy the family always increases.

Line 60.—In whatever family the husband is contented with his wife, and the wife with her husband, in that house will fortune be assuredly permanent.

I forebear further quotation for fear of inordinate length. The above will suffice to shew the excellent hygienic and sanitary rules enjoined by Manu and others,—which if thoroughly carried out would have made every town and village in Bengal a veritable Hygeiopolis. But as a matter of fact and actual observation, what do we find in Hindu society and in every Bengal village? The people though nominally Hindus have forgotten the Shastras, and changed their modes of life and conduct. They do not take meat and nourishing food regularly, and have in consequence become physically weak. Again, they have abandoned marriage by selection at a mature age, and taken to child and infant marriages, which form another principal factor in the degeneracy of the present race. Hindu women are not as much honored and respected as the Shastras enjoin, and hence the moral degeneracy of the people.

When we leave the house and go out to its surroundings and the village, we invariably find every insanitary condition powerfully and conspicuously present, and all Manu's laws disregarded and transgressed. We see heaps of cow-dung, house-sweepings, and refuse left to putrefy for manure and other purposes; cess-pools and cess-pits, more or less abominable, jungle and noxious vegetation covering the vacant spaces and affording cover for the commission of nuisances, giving shelter to snakes and venomous reptiles, and breeding fever and ague during the rains by rotting; we find that the offices of nature are performed just outside and close to dwellings, on roads, by tank and river-sides; we see holes and excavations more or less full of filthy liquid during the rains, impeding and obstructing drainage; dirty ponds and tanks choked with

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weeds and rank vegetation, the water of which is used for drinking; wells which are never cleaned, and near whose mouth people bathe and wash dirty clothes,—the dirty water trickling or percolating back into the well. In short, we find in a village every cause present, in full and active operation, to taint and poison the soil, air, and water, thereby breeding much sickness and causing many deaths.

No wonder that the death-rate is enormous. Vital statistics in Bengal are not reliable: still, even, the recorded mortality is appalling. The report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal for 1887 shows the following figures:—Out of a population of 6,61,63,884 in Bengal, there were 1,72,578 deaths from cholera, 3,846 from small-pox, 10,87,768 from fever, 56,893 from bowel complaints, 26,630 from injuries including suicide, and 14 997 from other causes, giving the following ratios per 10,000 of population: cholera 2·60, small-pox ·05, fever 16·44, bowel complaints ·05; injuries ·40 and other causes 3·09. The total deaths registered in 1887 in Bengal amounted to 1,552,528 or 23·46 per 1,000. The mean of the previous 5 years was 20·96 or about the same as the death-rate of London, one of the best cared-for and healthiest cities in the world. Of course such figures are absurdly below the reality, but at least they give us some idea of what the real mortality must be. In Calcutta registration is more accurate than in the mofussil, and even there the death rate during the healthiest months varies from 25 to 35 or more; and Calcutta with its drainge, sewerage, and water-works is now regarded by mofussil people as a healthy place to which they actually resort for a change of air.

What is to be done to remove this fearful sickness and mortality? Some would go in for the *laissez-faire* policy, thinking that no pressure should be used. But towns and cities are admitted by all to be more advanced than villages, and yet we do not leave citizens and towns-people alone to do as they like as regards sanitation. We pass municipal laws and compel them to remove nuisances, and to introduce sanitary improvements. Is not this using pressure and compulsion? And if enlightened townsmen and citizens require pressure, how much more do villagers, who are ill-educated and unenlightened. I unhesitatingly affirm that compulsion will not be repugnant to the people whose "habits are essentially clean," and who simply require to be reminded of the good old laws of Manu to enlist their sympathy and co-operation in the good cause. The need for some pressure is beyond dispute, and the people will soon do voluntarily what at first they will only do from compulsion. I will note briefly what is required, and by what agency it can be done.

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The first and prime requirement of all villages, is a supply of good drinking water. Those villages that stand on flowing streams and rivers of sweet water, draw their supply therefrom, but other villages depend on tanks, beels, and wells. Tanks were originally the gift of some Rajah, Zemindar or well-to-do man who gave them from a sense of piety and duty. Such virtues have, to a great extent, disappeared with the spread of English education and Western ideas among the people. The consequence is, that new tanks are rarely dug now-a-days, and old tanks are not often re-excavated owing to poverty and family disputes among sharers. They thus get overgrown with noxious weeds and rank vegetation, and their impure water is one of the chief causes of ague and fever in many districts of Lower Bengal. One reason why tanks are not so clean as they used to be, is that the construction of embankments has stopped the influx of floods from the Damooda, Selye, Cossye, and other clear and crystal mountain streams. These floods though attended with some loss of property and temporary inconvenience, did much good by flushing tanks and filling them with fresh water, and by leaving silt and fertility behind. In order, then, to improve the supply of drinking-water, it is necessary to dig new tanks and clear and re-excavate old ones. As regards re-excavation, a tank should be dewatered, and the black deposit and humus * carefully removed. Then, all trees on the bank should be cut down, † and the bank raised if necessary, and all precautions taken against contamination by filthy surface-drainage and washing of dirty clothes. All drinking tanks ought to be strictly reserved as such. This having been done, attention should next be directed to the condition of other tanks used for bathing, washing and cooking. Where the supply is drawn from beels, khals. and rivers, every care should be taken to avoid all sources of contamination, such as putting *Komars*, or bundles of fresh twigs for catching fish, jute-steeping, throwing of corpses and carcasses, or of refuse from factories and distilleries. All this requires no special legislation. It can be enforced by the Magistrate.

In places where wells constitute the principal or sole supply of water, care should be taken to see that every well has a masonry parapet wall, and an area or circumference of at least six feet in diameter, cemented with Portland cement to prevent

* [The ryots are well aware of the value of this rich black deposit as manure.—ED]

† [In Western Bengal ryots who dig tanks, generally plant them round with palms, and this probably does no harm. What foliage there is, is high-up, and the sun and air are not kept off the surface of the tank. moreover, the palm-tree is popularly supposed to absorb the noxious exhalations of the soil.—ED.]

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surface drainage and percolation into it. No manure-heaps or cess pools or any offensive trade likely to contaminate the soil should be permitted within the percolation area. In villages without tanks it would be better and cheaper to dig wells, either pottery or masonry according to funds, and in case of mixed populations, there should be separate wells for Hindus and Mahomedans. Wells are preferable to tanks for drinking purposes, being less liable to contamination by filthy surface drainage, bathing, washing, or throwing of rubbish and dirt.

The second requisite for the improvement of villages is the introduction of a system of rough conservancy, under which the people will not be allowed to contaminate the soil, air and water, but must be compelled to follow some such systsm as that presented by Manu or in the Mosaic law. As regards refuse-heaps, Bengal, nay all India, being an agricultural country, the farmer or cultivator must have his manure which constitutes his wealth, and without which he cannot get on. The farmer's practice is to pile up his manure-heap and to expose it to the sun and air for weeks and months, and then to cart and remove it to the fields once in six months, that is, before the spring and autumn cultivation. This long exposure deprives the manure of much of its efficacy. If immediately buried under the soil, it decomposes slowly and retains all its fertilizing elements. It can then be exhumed and spread out when the time for cultivation arrives. The farmer should therefore remove his refuse daily if his field is close by, or as soon as there is enough to fill a cart if his field is at some distance, and he should then bury it in various parts of his field. This plan of burying prevents insanitary consequences, and when once buried, it cannot be stolen, the danger of which has been urged as an argument against its removal to the fields before it is required for cultivation.

Roads and drains are generally conspicuous by their absence, and drainage is consequently defective in all flat villages. People should unite and make their own roads and drains, and punchayats should have power to compel them to do so. Every house may be drained to the nearest tank or pond (not reserved for drinking) by shallow surface drains; and the general drainage of the village may be directed to the fields, khals, or streams, by deep and proper drains according to levels, which may be found out by observing the course of water during the rains. The presence of holes and excavations in villages and towns impedes and obstructs drainage, and they should therefore be filled up.

Another requisite is, free ventilation and circulation of air. To promote this, all obstacles in the shape of thick bamboo topes and dense jungle should be removed. The presence of

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large trees is beneficial for cool shade and for intercepting malaria, and therefore their growth should be encouraged. The best time for cutting jungle and brushwood is in the dry season, that is, before and after the rains, and never during the rainy season, when cut jungle is sure to rot and do more harm than good. But jungle may be utilised in filling up pits and holes along with sweepings, and over all should be placed a layer of dry earth. The circulation of air and ventilation can also be promoted by the proper construction and arrangement of houses.

The disposal of the dead is a matter which often calls for executive action. The Hindus, as a rule, cremate their dead, and this is the best method of all from a sanitary point of view. The only exceptions are very young infants, Vaishnabs, and paupers, who are buried on river-banks. Cremation is generally performed on the bank of a flowing stream, and failing that, on the side of a tank or beel, or in the fields. The body is supposed to be thoroughly cremated and reduced to ashes which are consigned to the water. But, unfortunately, this is not always done, and bodies only partially burnt or singed are thrown into the water. The practice of throwing corpses into rivers is gradually disappearing ; but it will always go on to some extent in districts ruled by careless and weak Magistrates. Dead bodies are often transported from long distances to the banks of the sacred Ganges or Bhagirathi, being wrapped in a piece of mat and slung on a bamboo pole. If the death has occurred from any infectious disease, such as small-pox, this practice is attended with some risk to the persons carrying the corpse, and the people and places through which it is carried. Some precautions are necessary to minimize the evil, as disinfecting the body and not allowing its passage through crowded places and thoroughfares. This, again, is a matter for executive direction and prohibition. Mahomedans bury their dead. As a rule there are no fixed burial grounds in villages. Many bury within private enclosures and close to their habitations This practice should be discouraged and gradually suppressed. Particular places outside the village should be fixed by general consent. Graves should be sufficiently deep to prevent exhumation by dogs and jackals.

Mourning and uncleanliness after death last among the Hindus from 10 to 30 days, and during this time no shaving by the village barber is allowed. Beggars are not admitted for alms and charity, dirty clothes are not sent to the village washerman, and no intimate connection or association is allowed with neighbours, such as eating and drinking together. All these are very sensible restrictions, imposed with the object of preventing the spread of any infection or contagion, and the

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spread of unorthodoxy should not be permitted to bring about any abandonment or relaxation of such practices.

As regards agency, the Local Boards and Unions under the Local Self-Government Act at once suggest themselves as the best agency ; and such agency may be extended by increasing the powers of punchayats. Mr. Phillips, in his article on Cheap Village Sanitation, has made an excellent suggestion, namely, that the chowkidari Punchayats should also be sanitary Punchayats, the chowkidari tax being raised, if necessary, to meet any expense connected with sanitary measures and improvements. There should be a local Committee of Health in every large village, and I quite agree that no better agency can be found than the existing chowkidari Punchayats, whose operations should be supervised by sanitary inspectors. They will carry out the orders of Local Boards ; Local Boards will obey the District Boards, and the latter will be instructed, directed, and controlled by the central Sanitary Board for the Province.

Difficulties likely to be encountered in carrying out sanitary improvements may be divided under the following heads :—

1st.—Those due to apathy, indifference, or ignorance of the laws of health or hygiene.

2nd.—Those arising from extreme conservative habits, reluctance to change, and " immobility of custom."

3rd.—Those due to want of unity and concerted action and want of combination among the people.

4th.—Real and physical difficulties, such as crowded houses, and villages making ventilation defective, low sites rendering good drainage impracticable, brackish and contaminated soil, rendering the water of tanks and wells impure and unwholesome, the absence of any waste land or jungle around a village, the presence and proximity of marshes and beels, stagnant khals and streams, silted and choked tanks, or drinking-water wells near possible sources of contamination, burial grounds near homesteads, &c.

The above difficulties may be overcome in the following manner :—

1st—Difficulties due to apathy and ignorance may be surmounted by instruction in the laws of Manu, and an improved practical sanitary primer. It is capable of demonstration that the Rishis and Munis and their contemporaries enjoyed longevity. Europeans live longer and enjoy much better health than the natives of India. Why ? Because they live more carefully and agreeably to routine and laws. The child is father of the man ; and if sanitary knowledge is drilled into the young, they will never forget it. What is absolutely required, then, is a good

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practical sanitary primer, which should be written by a sanitary and a civil officer combined.

2nd—Difficulties arising from extreme conservatism might be gradually overcome by practical appeals to the sensible people among the masses. Changes and improvements are the order of the day. Natives now freely resort to the railroad for travelling, and to the electric telegraph for trade and other urgent messages. They extensively patronise English clothes and goods, because they are cheaper than the old cotton fabrics of our Indian weavers, whose occupation is nearly gone, and who, as a class, are reduced to extreme poverty. From these facts it would appear that conservatism readily yields, when the people find it to their interest and advantage to adopt any improvement.

3rd—Difficulties due to want of unity and power of combination among the people have arisen from the faction and party spirit of modern times. The village communes, punchayats. and other local self-governing bodies have existed in India from time immemorial, and if these were revived under the Local self-Government Act, the people would regain the unity and power of combination which they appear to have lost.

4th—Real and physical difficulties must be overcome by attention to the principles of hygiene. For instance, crowding of houses and villages must be gradually removed by re-arrangement and re-building as opportunities occur. Low sites may be gradually raised or drained from underneath. As to ways and means, District Boards should be compelled by law to expend a certain percentage of their funds on sanitation and sanitary improvements. Finally, the Central Sanitary Board should insist on all subordinate officers and bodies paying the same attention to sanitary matters as is now paid to the administration of any particular department of the administration, such as income tax or excise. If this were done, the year 1900 might witness a mortality little or no higher than that of European countries.

K. P. GUPTA, *Surg.-Major*,
Depy. Sanitary Commissioner,
Bengal.

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ART. VI.—THE IMPURITY OF INDIAN WHEAT.

IN the course of a speech delivered a few months ago at Oldham, the Secretary of State for India, Viscount Cross, referred to the dirty condition in which Indian wheat reaches the home markets. The remedy for a state of affairs which his Lordship rightly held to be prejudicial to the development of an important Indian industry lies, he declared, with the British consumer, who, if he demand clean wheat, will certainly receive it. Simple as the truth thus enunciated appears to be, it has taken many years to secure its general recognition. During these years the cultivator, the native dealer, and the European exporter have in turn borne the burden of blame for the impure condition in which the wheat is shipped. The evil and its possible remedies have been exhaustively discussed by Agricultural Directors; Chambers of Commerce have addressed letters of advice or complaint to Local and Imperial Governments, and exporters have formed ill-fated combinations, with the common object of securing the elimination from Indian wheat of the admixture of barley, seeds and dirt which so depreciates its value. The history of this long campaign against adulteration is a curious one, and well deserves the attention of the commercial world.

The impurity of Indian wheat had been frequently noticed in official reports and commercial publications previous to 1883, but it was not until June of that year, when India was exporting wheat in unprecedented quantities, that the initiatory step in the way of reform was taken by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. At its instance, separate communications were addressed by the Chambers of Bengal, Bombay and Karachi to various Local Governments, calling attention to the admixture of dirt and other foreign substances in Indian wheat, and soliciting official aid in putting an end to a state of things which was attributed to the careless husbandry of the cultivator. It was urged that district officers should be instructed to impress on the ryot the pecuniary advantage he would derive from sending his wheat to market in as clean a state as possible, and it was also suggested, that small prizes should be given annually to those who produced the cleanest parcels. From these representations it would appear that the native cultivator alone was thought to be responsible for the evil

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complained of. His ignorance of the art of husbandry, it was said, led him to grow two or more crops simultaneously in the same field, which accounted for the presence of barley and seeds in his wheat, while his primitive mode of threshing similarly explained the admixture of dirt. Wilful adulteration by the ryot was not spoken of; the native dealer was apparently not suspected of tampering with the wheat he handled, and the European exporter, shortly to be accused of conniving at native malpractices, as yet stood forth the unquestioned advocate of reform. It was with such a view of the case before them that the Local Governments hastened to carry out the recommendations of the various Chambers of Commerce, and instructed their officers in wheat-growing districts to reason with the illiterate ryot, and to convince him, if possible, of the error of his ways.

During the next two years, however, the opinion slowly gained ground among European merchants in India that the impurity of the wheat was more the result of design than had hitherto been supposed. Acting on this opinion, the Committee of the Calcutta Wheat and Seed Trade Association resolved, in June 1885, to take immediate steps to bring about a gradual reform. The basis of refraction * on which wheat had hitherto been sold in Calcutta was five per cent. for all deliveries made from the incoming of each crop until the end of June, and six per cent for all deliveries made subsequently. The Committee, however, decided that the limit for foreign admixture should remain at five per cent. for one month longer than usual in 1885. If this moderate innovation had been successfully established, the Association would have taken other and bolder measures, in succeeding years, to secure more pronounced reforms. When the resolution of the Committee became known, however, a powerful combination was formed among the native merchants and dealers, for the purpose of preventing all sales of wheat on other than the old conditions. Heavy penalties were to be exacted from any member of the combination who disposed of his wheat on the new terms, and financial assistance was guaranteed to those whose limited capital might otherwise compel them to realise their stocks. In a struggle like this, where patient endurance must carry the day, the European is no match for the Asiatic, and the exporters, who had unwisely engaged in the contest at a time when they were seriously hampered by heavy shipping engagements, had eventually to give way, after suffering considerable loss. It is not to be greatly wondered at, that shortly after this decisive

* By "refraction" is meant the admixture of extraneous substances.

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defeat, the European merchants of Calcutta, as represented by the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, were reluctantly compelled to state, in reply to an enquiry from the Agricultural Department, that they did not feel themselves in a position to recommend an alteration of the standard of refraction for wheat.

In the meantime the officers of the various Indian Agricultural Departments had not been idle. In a note dated 2nd September 1885, Mr. Finucane, Agricultural Director for Bengal, specified as the three chief causes of the impure condition of Indian wheat :—

(1). The mixture of other grains, due to the practice of growing two or more crops on the same land at the same time.

(2). Imperfect arrangements for winnowing the grain and removal of extraneous matter.

(3). Deliberate adulteration by traders, brokers and others.

In this and a subsequent note (7th July 1886), Mr. Finucane deprecated interference with the practice of sowing mixed crops, as the cultivator, in doing so, generally selected for sowing with his wheat, such seeds as would be likely to yield a return in cases where the wheat was destroyed by drought. He also expressed the opinion that "the present arrangements for winnowing are as good as can be hoped for in present circumstances," and considered that "the remedy lies not in the introduction of better winnowing arrangements so much as in the alteration of the present system of deductions for refraction." Following up his suggestion that the root of the evil lies in the conditions under which the trade is carried on, Mr. Finucane boldly declared that "if Government officials interfere at all in the matter, it should be to explain to the cultivators that it is their interest to mix at least five per cent. of foreign matter with clean grain before offering it for sale."

All that need be said of these conclusions, by way of criticism, is that they were premature. As the inquiry proceeded, they were found to be untenable so far as they held exporters responsible for the unsatisfactory condition of wheat shipments, and, in a later report, Mr. Finucane transferred the blame to the quarter to which it rightly belongs. But it is curious to observe how, at this stage, the European exporter had been substituted for the native cultivator in the official indictment, though, in the earlier of the two reports referred to, the native middleman had apparently been selected as the chief culprit. "The fact would seem to be," wrote Mr. Finucane, "that the impurity of Indian wheat is due to deliberate adulteration by

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brokers and traders as much as to admixture of foreign grain or imperfect winnowing on the part of the cultivators."

Through all this the progress of the official inquiry can be traced step by step. The Agricultural Departments were misled in the first instance, by the Chambers of Commerce, and it was only after laborious experiments and inquiries that the cultivator, the dealer, and the exporter were in turn exonerated from the charge of being directly responsible for an evil which, as the Oldham speech of Lord Cross attests, has at length been traced to its true source, the indifference of the home buyer. The opinion that the exporter is mainly responsible for the adulterated state of Indian wheat, was not, however, confined to officials of the Agricultural Departments. A section of the Indian Press supported it; the *Economist* impressed it on the public at home, and even a leading Indian merchant—the President of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce—seems to have believed that the practice of adulteration was originated, if it were not sustained, by the European exporter. "Originally," said the Hon'ble Forbes Adam at a meeting of Bombay wheat shippers in 1886, "wheat came to market comparatively clean, say, with only one per cent. of dirt in it; and it is only of late years, and entirely, I believe, owing to the initiative taken by the agents of European firms, that the practice of mixing three or four per cent. of dirt has grown up and is now common among the natives." Nothing, however, could be more opposed to probability than the statement, so often repeated elsewhere, that exporters connive at the maintenance of the adulteration system. It is well to recall the fact that the agitation for reform was initiated by the merchants of Bombay, who have steadily kept their laudable object in view for years. To them alone is due the credit for whatever real progess has been made. On this side of India, exporters have twice suffered loss in unsuccessful attempts to effect an improvement. yet have continued to give every information and assistance to the officials charged with the direction of inquiries into this important matter. In a word, the European exporter has always, since attention was first publicly drawn to the evil, been strongly in favor of remedying it. How, indeed, could he be otherwise? If the impure condition of Indian wheat curtails the demand for it, and depreciates its value relatively to other varieties, will he not be among the first to gain by a reform which will insure a greater consumptive demand for the article he sells? It is, however, essential to the success of a commercial innovation that it should *pay*, and it must not be forgotten that the merchant conducts his business for his own profit; not to please a public sentiment or to gratify an official whim. If a

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demand existed for wheat mixed with half its weight of stones and dirt, it is certain that exporters would meet it, and they would be justified in doing so, unless they were indemnified by the guarantee of a higher price, from the loss which they would suffer by shipping a superior quality.

During 1885-86 a series of experiments with steam threshing-machines was carried out in India. Mr. Ozanne, the Agricultural Director for Bombay, considered that wheat left these machines in a clean condition, and that the cost of threshing by the new process was less than by the old. The Director of Agriculture for Bengal, on the other hand, held that "after making all reasonable deductions for carriage of dirt and for saving of labor by steam threshing, the balance of advantage to the ryot, according to the figures furnished by the (Bengal) Chamber of Commerce, would still be on the side of bullock-threshing and admixture of dirt." Mr. Finucane added also—"There is not, in my opinion, the remotest chance of these machines coming into general use by ryots, individually or collectively, though it is possible that large landholders, here and there, may purchase a few of them." So far as Bengal is concerned, the foregoing seems to preclude all likelihood of the solution of the difficulty by the use of the steam-thresher, and it is noteworthy that, although Mr. Ozanne still adheres to his original opinion, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce has lately had to admit that "steam-threshing has made no further advance."

About the same time a scheme was put forward for providing accommodation for storing, cleaning and grading wheat at central depôts in the interior, or at the railway termini of the shipping ports. In view of the fact that the tendency of the trade along the lines of railway is yearly more and more towards decentralisation, the proposal to establish central cleaning depôts was not feasible, and to provide such accommodation wherever needed would require an expenditure which, in the words of the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, "would increase the cost out of proportion to the improved price which might be obtainable for cleaned wheat in the home markets." As regards the alternative proposal to erect cleaning depôts at the shipping ports, one-half of the possible economy in the cost of rail and ocean carriage (estimated at one and a quarter per cent. on wheat containing four per cent. of foreign admixture) would be sacrificed before the grain reached the cleaning machines, while the other half would, under the existing conditions of the trade, in Calcutta at least, be also lost in additional handling and bagging expenses.

In no wise discouraged by the ill success which had attended

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the efforts of the previous three years, the Bombay shippers held a meeting towards the close of 1886, for the purpose of considering what further steps should be taken to effect the much-needed improvement in the cleanliness of Indian wheat. Subsequent to the meeting, a circular letter was addressed by the Secretary of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce to the Corn Trade Associations of London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Hull, asking that the form of arrival contracts for Bombay wheat should in future limit the admixture of dirt to two per cent. In reply, the Liverpool Association cordially approved of the suggested reform, but took no steps towards its adoption, and the London Association contented itself with reiterating its standing instructions to its Sample Committee, to exclude from the monthly standards all samples containing an undue admixture of dirt. From Glasgow and Hull no answers were received.

In 1887 a large firm of exporters at Bombay made an attempt, single-handed, to introduce the desired innovation, and reduced the admixture of dirt in some of their shipments of wheat to within a maximum of two per cent. Such isolated action was foredoomed to failure, but it was only one instance, among many, of the public spirit which has animated Indian exporters throughout this long agitation, but which, until quite recently, failed to obtain the least recognition. Even so late as January 1887, Mr. Donald Smeaton, Director of Agriculture for the N.-W. P. and Oudh, declared the wheat shipper and his agents to be guilty of practices which, besides being in themselves commercially immoral, induced a more than corresponding depravity in the native middleman. Mr. Smeaton's report, however, marked another stage in the progress of the official inquiry towards the solution of the question of responsibility, for he evidently saw with sufficient clearness that no reform was possible unless the home trade raised the standard of Indian wheats as regards cleanliness, and was prepared to pay a proportionately higher price for a cleaner article. But the credit for most clearly discerning with official eyes the true remedy for the evil, and, at the same time, exculpating the wrongly-libelled exporters, undoubtedly belongs to Mr. Finucane, who had for some years given the subject his closest attention. In a report dated 18th August 1887, he sums up the situation with remarkable perspicuity in the following words:—"If the consuming countries wish to receive cleaner wheat, and pay for it accordingly, cleaner wheat will be exported, because exporters will adapt themselves to the requirements of the consumers;" and again, "It is as futile to blame producers for growing other crops with wheat, if they find it profitable

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to do so, as it is to impute blame to merchants in Calcutta for purchasing and shipping wheat mixed with dirt, so long as there is a demand for dirty wheat in Europe, and adequate profit cannot be obtained by shipping clean grain." Pity that this truth was not earlier elucidated, when the time and trouble expended in catechising cultivators and abusing exporters might have been devoted to stimulating action in the only quarter where it is likely to be effective.

A few months after the publication of these interesting reports, the shippers of Calcutta and Bombay again took action. In Calcutta it was decided to inflict a slight monetary penalty in the case of any delivery of wheat of which the admixture exceeded by more than two per cent. the basis of refraction on which it had been sold. Another severe struggle with a counter-combination among the natives was the result, and once more the Europeans were beaten. The weak point of this and the previously-mentioned combination among Calcutta exporters, was undoubtedly the non-participation in the movement of any of the native merchants or dealers. In neither instance were they consulted, and their interest in the matter was practically ignored, as though their consent, so necessary, as events proved, to the success of such undertakings, were not in the least needed. Had a little more tact been displayed, the rival interests of the various native firms excited, and their individual importance recognised and flattered, some of them might, perhaps, have been enlisted on the side of reform. It is at least certain that no improvement in the desired direction can be effected against the powerful resistance which they can oppose to it. If exporters are wise, they will stand aside and allow the next struggle to be fought out, as it should be, between the home buyers and the native sellers. Independent action on the part of Indian exporters is, as all experience shows, doomed to failure.

On the 9th of April 1888, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution reducing the admixture of foreign substances in wheat to two per cent. in "choice" and "No. 1 Club" qualities. At the same time the Corn Trade Associations of London and Liverpool were asked to insert a like clause in arrival contracts for Bombay wheat. The request was at once acceded to in Liverpool, but the London Association declined to assist in the attempt to purify Indian wheat, on the ground that *there had been no generally expressed desire among buyers for a reform in the direction indicated!* This reply may be said to have finally settled the question of responsibility for the continuance of adulteration. The speech of the Secretary of State at Oldham leaves no doubt as to

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the present official opinion on the subject, and if any blame is still thought to attach to dealings in uncleaned and adulterated wheat, it cannot, in fairness, be imputed to the exporters of Calcutta and Bombay.

If, however, a doubt still remains as to the quarter from which reform should come, the following statement of an analogous case should suffice to dissipate it. Until within the last seven years the "analysis clause" in the London contract for Calcutta linseed was "mutual," *i. e.*, if a shipment of linseed, guaranteed to contain 4 per cent. of foreign admixture, contained a greater percentage, the excess was deducted from the price, and, in like manner, if it contained less, a proportionate addition was made. It was, therefore, the interest of the Indian exporter to ship clean linseed, as he was paid proportionately for it. The reciprocal part of this clause was, however, eliminated a few years since by the home buyers, who, no doubt, thought to appropriate gratis the overplus of linseed in clean parcels. The *immediate* effect of the alteration was the extension of the margin of admixture in Calcutta to 5 per cent., though the seed continued to be sold in London on a 4 per cent. basis, and this, of course, effectually prevented the home buyers from gaining the anticipated bonus. The *subsequent* effect was, as might have been foreseen, a steady and perceptible deterioration, as regards cleanliness, of Calcutta linseed. To correct this it was resolved, at a full meeting of the London Oilseed Association, held little more than two years ago, that, in future the linseed should be bought and sold on the basis of *absolute* purity. This bold reform was cordially approved by the Indian export houses, but from that time to the present there has been no demand whatever in the home markets for pure linseed, and the resolution of the Association remains practically a dead-letter.

The virtual responsibility of the home buyer for the dirty condition of Indian wheat may, therefore, be taken as completely established. This buyer, as represented by the London Corn Trade Association, must not be confounded with the corn-miller into whose hands the wheat ultimately passes. He, no doubt, would be prepared to pay a proportionately higher price for a cleaner quality, on which the cost of "washing" would be saved. The Indian shipper, however, rarely deals directly with him, but sells his wheat to brokers, factors, or speculators, with most of whom dirt answers the purpose of wheat, so far as their immediate interest in it is concerned. It is apparently among these intermediaries that the London Corn Trade Association has been unable to find any "generally expressed desire" for an improvement, and it

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was doubtless for the purpose of "getting behind" the opinion of this class that the Secretary of State lately circulated very widely in the United Kingdom a list of questions designed to elicit the opinions of millers as to the probable effect of a higher standard of purity upon the consumptive demand. Of the half-dozen questions thus circulated some were certainly "leading," and one, at least, misleading; nevertheless, a certain value attaches to the testimony of the 500 millers who replied, and it may be taken as established that the dirt in Indian wheat limits its use in mills unprovided with the necessary appliances for cleaning and washing it.

At the instance of Mr. John M'Dougall, by whom this inquiry had been conducted, the Secretary of State invited all interested in the subject to meet and confer with him at the India Office on the 8th of May last. According to the telegraphic summary (which is all that has reached us up to the time of writing) the proceedings at the Conference resulted in nothing definite, no resolution being adopted or even proposed, though Viscount Cross declared himself convinced that the discussion would lead to the adoption of some plan of reform.

Assuming, then, that the reform which the Secretary of State, the Indian Government and the Chambers of Commerce in this country have alike declared themselves as desirous of effecting, will eventually be brought about in the manner which alone appears feasible, *viz.*, by altering the London contract, it is desirable to inquire how the conditions of the trade here can likewise be altered, with the least possible amount of friction between buyers and sellers. In Bombay and Karachi, where wheat is already partially cleaned before shipment, little difficulty should be experienced in reducing the margin of refraction to two per cent. In Calcutta, however, a very radical alteration of the present conditions of the trade must follow the amendment of the home contract. Calcutta wheat is, as a rule, packed in bags up-country, and shipped from the railway terminus exactly as received. For the reasons previously given, it would be uneconomical, if not impracticable, to clean the wheat at the railway stations of the interior, or at the terminus on the banks of the Hughli, and much more so to transport it thence to godowns for the purpose of cleaning it before shipment. There would, however, be no real difficulty in the way of its being cleaned by the ryots, or the up-country dealers, before its despatch by rail. Seeds intended for export are almost invariably passed through the sieve up-country, and there exists no valid reason why wheat should not be similarly treated. The actual cost of cleaning is extremely small. In a report on the subject, submitted to the Agricultural Department a few years ago,

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Mr. Power, then Collector of Shahabad, stated that wheat containing six per cent. of impurities could be cleaned by the cultivator before sale at a net cost of three pies per maund, which is equal to about one-third of the estimated loss caused by incurring rail and ocean freight on the admixture. Mr. Power's estimate, low though it appears to be, would be deemed a full one by native dealers.

At the very commencement of the agitation, Mr. Arthur Crawford, then Commissioner of the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency, drew the attention of the Bombay Government to the fact that the practice of growing mixed crops was far more prevalent in the districts supplying wheat to Calcutta than in those lying further west, whose crops were exported *viâ* Bombay. With the extension of railways, the old lines of demarcation have been completely effaced, and the respective agents of Calcutta and Bombay merchants now find themselves in direct competition in many of the largest wheat-producing districts. Nevertheless, it is still found that what Mr. Crawford called the area of "slovenly husbandry" sends its wheat chiefly to Calcutta. Of the various foreign seeds and grain with which this wheat is mixed, barley is the most difficult to extract. It cannot be entirely removed either by native-made appliances or by more elaborate machines of European manufacture. When travelling recently in Persia, I noticed that wheat is there brought down to the coast largely mixed with barley, frequently to the extent of 10, 20 or even 30 per cent. Before shipment it is passed through screening machines of European manufacture, but I was informed by an English shipper in Bushire that even this machine-cleaned wheat contains one or two per cent. of barley, and that the machines, in extracting the barley, throw out likewise some of the wheat. Similar results have been obtained from experiments made in this country. The barley is separated from the wheat with great difficulty, and unfortunately, the boldest grains of wheat go out with it. The admixture of barley which remains in Persian wheat, cannot, however, appreciably affect its value if, as a Northamption miller informs the Secretary of State, "it is worth two shillings per quarter more than wheat from Indian ports of equal color, but with an admixture of impurities."

In view of these facts, and of the opinion of the Director of Agriculture for Bengal, that it would be injudicious to discourage the cultivation of mixed crops, the question arises—whether it would not be equally injudicious to apply to all Indian wheats indifferently the same stringent rule regarding admixture? Bombay maintains that it can readily clean its wheat down to two per cent. Calcutta cannot do so as readily, where the admixture consist partly or wholly of barley. It will be a grave mistake if official influence at home is exerted to secure

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the insertion in the London contract of a clause strictly limiting all admixture to two per cent., without regard to the conditions of agriculture which obtain in certain parts of India and render so small a margin a practical impossibility in the case of many deliveries. A *small* admixture of barley is, from a miller's point of view, comparatively unobjectionable, and would certainly not curtail the consumption of Indian wheat in the United Kingdom. By all means let India ship her wheat free from objectionable impurities, but let the application of the stringent and indiscriminating rule with which the trade is threatened, be tempered with some regard for the development of an important industry, which injudicious meddling may prejudicially affect.

H. M. Ross.

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ART. VII.—TAXATION IN INDIA.*

Part V.—Irrigation Works and Railways.

THE construction of irrigation works is often recommended by the good people of England as a remedy against famine. They are, indeed, a potent preventive remedy, but not in the manner supposed by English philanthropists. They increase the food supply to some extent; but they prevent famine more effectually by diminishing population and food consumption. The healthiest districts in the plains of India have become unhealthy by reason of irrigation canals. By raising the level of water, they make the land water-logged, damp and malarious. The people suffer extensively from fever which spreads over the land and, at certain seasons of the year, attacks and lays entire households low. It produces a sensible increase of mortality, but not an increase in proportion to the sickness. The result is a great saving in the consumption of food. The consumers slowly diminish in number and the frequent recurrence of malarious fever makes them naturally abstemious in the matter of food.

Do the people take kindly to irrigation canals? When in course of construction, they excite much interest and attract admiration. But these feelings rapidly vanish when water-rates are imposed. Then the people begin to regard the canals as an unmitigated nuisance. In the years of normal or ample rainfall, which generally are nine years in a decade, the canals are of little use.† They are of great use only in the exceptional years of drought when the crops would fail without the canal water. But the rules for imposing rates and fines for the use and waste of water are very stringent and enable the lower officials of the Irrigation Department to levy black-mail upon the ryots in all years, whether of scanty or abundant rainfall. For these and other reasons, irrigation canals are not much in favor with the people. If left to their choice, they would at once abolish all canals, and would rather let their crops perish every ninth or tenth year than pay water-rates, fines and black-mail year after year.

From a financial point of view, the irrigation works in the three large provinces of Bengal, Madras and Bombay are a failure. The following tables, compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for the year 1886-87, show the revenue from and expenditure on irrigation works in the several provinces:—

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* Continued from No. CLXXVI for April 1889, p. 332.

† [The Reviewer evidently refers to Lower Bengal only with a normal rainfall of from 50 to 70 inches per annum.—ED.]

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Revenue from Irrigation Works.

Name of Province.	Direct receipts from major works.	Direct receipts from minor works.	Total receipts.	Portion of land revenue due to irrigation.	Grand Total.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
1. India General ...	Nil	1,511	1,511	Nil	1,511
2. Central Provinces	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
3. Burma ...	Nil	2,871	2,871	Nil	2,871
4. Assam ...	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
5. Bengal ...	138,663	85,719	224,382	Nil	224,382
6. North-Western Provinces and Oudh	459,864	16,131	475,995	87,238	563,233
7. Punjab ...	252,581	17,991	270,572	68,144	338,716
8. Madras ...	22,076	9,802	31,378	390,222	422,100
9. Bombay and Sindh	36,640	15,387	52,027	51,865	103,892
Total ...	909,824	149,412	1,059,236	597,469	1,656,705

Expenditure on Irrigation Works.

Name of Province.	Working expenses of major works.	Working expenses of minor works.	Total working expenses.	Interest at 4 per cent. upon the capital outlay.	Grand Total.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
1. India General ...	Nil	11,220	11,220	139	11,359
2. Central Provinces	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
3. Burma ...	Nil	37,204	37,204	Nil	37,204
4. Assam ...	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
5. Bengal ...	133,260	123,545	256,805	229,349	484,154
6. North-Western Provinces and Oudh	220,615	21,677	242,292	258,668	500,960
7. Punjab ...	135,608	63,593	199,201	237,489	436,690
8. Madras ...	104,917	270,696	375,613	175,775	551,388
9. Bombay and Sindh	32,373	161,434	193,807	93,171	286,978
Total ...	626,773	689,369	1,316,142	992,591	2,308,733

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It appears from the above figures that the total direct receipts which comprise water-rates, owners-rates, navigation-rates, fines, and some other items, amount to Rx. 1,059,236 and fall greatly short of the total working expenses which are Rx. 1,316,142. The irrigation in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh is able to pay its working expenses and yield a respectable surplus, being nearly equal to the interest at 4 per cent. upon the capital outlay. It is not so successful in the Panjab, but is able to pay its way and leave a small surplus. In Bengal the receipts do not cover the ordinary annual expenditure, but the deficit is not large. But in the provinces of Madras and Bombay the receipts are disproportionately small and the deficits very large, being Rx. 343,735 and Rx. 141,780 respectively. These deficits swallow up the surplus of the North-Western Provinces and Panjab, and show a very large balance on the wrong side of the aggregate account. But it appears the Government has generously come to the aid of its pet scheme of irrigation and made large grants of land revenue, amounting to Rx. 597,469 for its support. If to succour the distressed be an act of charity, the large grant of Rx. 390,222 to the irrigation system of Madras seems to be well bestowed, for it is in sore distress, having a miserable income of Rx. 31,878 to meet an annual ordinary expenditure of Rx. 375,613. This allotment of land revenue has struck me as a curious feature in the irrigation accounts. It looks as if the Madras Government is ashamed to expose in its nakedness the complete failure of its irrigation project, and makes a large grant of land revenue to enable it to make a decent appearance in the accounts.* There is no doubt irrigation works do in some sort improve the land revenue and so do the railways. But no one has ever thought of making any grant-in-aid from the land revenue to the railways. Probably because railways are able to pay their way and do not stand in need of such pecuniary help.

The grants of land revenue in aid of irrigation works are shown in the accounts as "portion of land revenue due to irrigation," and are absurdly large in Madras, being Rx. 390,222. The working expenses of irrigation works in Madras are, as shown above, Rx. 375,613. It is a curious circumstance that the land revenue, alleged to be due to irrigation, should so

* [On this point the Reviewer is under a misapprehension. The receipts in Madras are taken in the shape of a higher rent or land-revenue, which is imposed on the *ayacut* or irrigable area. If *dry* land pays an assessment of say Rs. 3 an acre, and *wet* land, under an irrigation-reservoir, pays Rs. 8, it is obvious that the excess of Rs. 5 is due to, and properly reckoned as, the result of irrigation. In Bengal a separate irrigation rate has to be imposed, as the landlord rent-receiver and the State are not, as in Madras, one and the same person.—ED.]

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closely approximate to the working expenses. It leads one to suspect that there has been a slight confusion of ideas here among the revenue authorities of Madras. They have mistaken cause for effect. It is not that Rx. 390,222 of land revenue is produced by irrigation, but that the maintenance of irrigation at an enormous cost of Rx. 375,613 a year is caused by Rx. 390,222 of land revenue. The official mind is loath to acknowledge the failure of a pet scheme. According to its ideas, it would be a great pity to abandon works which had cost so many millions to construct. The Government ought to direct a searching enquiry into this matter, and to find a way of getting rid of the losing concerns which many of the irrigation works have developed into. They were mostly constructed with borrowed capital and at one time paraded before the public as "reproductive public works." If any hopes were really entertained at the outset that they would be "reproductive" in the sense of yielding a revenue after paying the working expenses, those hopes have been, or ought to have been, abandoned long ago. With reference to such irrigation works as are worked at a loss, the matter for deliberation is reduced to a narrow issue, *viz.*, should the Government continue forever to throw good money after bad or endeavour to get rid of the losing business?

The following suggestions on the subject of irrigation works are offered for the consideration of the Government of India and the Indian public:—

I.—No new project of irrigation works of any magnitude should be entertained. For the purpose of increasing food supply, the policy of the Government should be to reclaim unhealthy swamps, and not to make dry healthy land swampy by means of irrigation canals. In this view, the repeal of the rules of 1853, regarding the grant of Sunderbun leases, was a great mistake. The Sunderbun is an alluvial swamp of remarkable fertility, and might, if reclaimed, become the granary of India. It has been made a reserved forest, and new rules have been framed for the grant of thirty years' leases. Not a single lot of any size has been taken up since. The reclamation of Sunderbun land is an extremely slow, risky, and costly process, for which a thirty years' lease under the new rules affords nothing like an adequate remuneration. The only wise course seems to be to revive the old rules and stimulate the reclamation of the Sunderbun. It does not grow any kind of good timber. The forest revenue consists chiefly of a tax upon

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firewood which falls upon the inhabitants of Calcutta and the suburbs. The price of firewood here has nearly doubled since the sunderbun was placed under forest officers. These officers, with their establishments, absorb about two-thirds of the gross revenue. The net revenue left is not much to boast of. It is less than what the public works cess of the land would be if reclaimed, let alone the land revenue. I should greatly like to see liberal terms offered for the reclamation of the Sunderbun, and the ranges of the forest rangers grow "small by degrees and beautifully less," till the entire forest is replaced by smiling corn fields and cheerful habitations of men. It must not be understood, however, that I deprecate the construction of tanks, bunds or irrigation wells in places where they are necessary. Works like these require only an initial outlay and little or no cost of maintenance. Above all, they do not affect the sanitary condition of the locality. What I object to is the costly scientific system of irrigation which makes the land swampy and malarious, and requires large annual outlays for its maintenance.

II.—Unprofitable irrigation works should be disposed of to the best advantage. I call all those works unprofitable whose own revenue or "direct receipts" (as it is termed in the accounts) do not pay their working expenses. In a permanently-settled province it is impossible to attribute any portion of the land revenue to irrigation. There is nothing like the dry light of a permanent settlement for dispelling the illusions and delusions which cluster round the temporary settlement of land. It is stated in the accounts of Madras that Rx. 390,222 of land revenue is due to irrigation, and that for producing this land revenue there is an enormous annual outlay, leaving only a small surplus for the land and irrigation works together. Suppose we try a little permanent settlement here. The land, it seems, has to be irrigated. Suppose we allow for this a reduction of 30 per cent. on the revenue, fix the reduced revenue in perpetuity, divide the land into convenient parcels, and put them up to sale with the irrigation works in them. I am sure the land with irrigation works will be in great request among capitalists. But a permanent settlement of the revenue is an essential element of the

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scheme. Without it, it will be difficult to find purchasers and obtain any fair value for the works. That one little concession will alter the state of things amazingly, raise the value of the property, and induce capitalists to invest their money. The purchasers will, of course, have the option of continuing the old works or abandoning them for cheaper means of irrigation. In their hands, the working expenses will be wonderfully reduced. The Government is always at a disadvantage when it undertakes business of this kind. It is best left to private enterprize.

The net results of the sales may be shown as follows:—Rx. 4 394,375 has been sunk on the irrigation works of Madras and Rx. 390,222 of land revenue is annually written off as being due to irrigation. The annual working expenses are Rx. 375,613, while the revenue of the works is only Rx. 31,878. The present net revenue of land and irrigation works together is only Rx. 390,222—(Rx. 375,613—Rx. 31,878)=Rx. 46,487.

Now, by selling off, in the manner recommended above, an annual permanent revenue of Rx. 390,222 less 30 per cent.= Rx. 273,155 is secured for the land alone. There is every likelihood, besides, of recovering a decent portion of the four millions sterling sunk upon the irrigation works.

The same course may be advantageously followed in regard to other irrigation works to which any land revenue is tacked in the accounts. They will find ready purchasers. But it will not be so easy to sell irrigation works alone. According to our premises, they must be unprofitable, that is, they are worked at a loss. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that what was unprofitable in the hands of the Government would continue to be so in the hands of a private company or firm. I have little doubt most of the works will find purchasers; but the competition will be necessarily restricted to persons possessing engineering skill or an enterprising spirit. This is likely to exercise a sinister influence upon the price. The unprofitable works must, however, be got rid of at any cost. A small remnant of such works will probably find no purchasers. In regard to them I should say, sell what is saleable in them and abandon the rest.

In regard to the irrigation works generally, my suggestions may be summed up in the words of Hamlet's advice to his mother.

> "Oh, throw away the worser part of it,
> And live the purer with the other half."

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Railways.

From the irrigation works, it is a relief to turn to the railways. They are the real preventives of famine and real reproductive public works. The following table, compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for the year 1886-87, shows the gross earnings, working expenses, net earnings and percentage on capital outlay of the several working lines of railway in India :—

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1 Names of Railways.	2 Gross earnings.	3 Working expenses.	4 Net earnings.	5 Percentage on capital outlay.
Guaranteed Railways.	Rx	Rx	Rx	
Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway	1,343,613	562,972	780,641	9·19
Great Indian Peninsula Railway ...	3,971,652	1,857,344	2,114,308	8·58
Madras Railway	794,264	504,611	289,653	2·79
Oudh and Rohilkund Railway ...	658,787	362,263	296,524	3·28
South Indian Railways ...	512,196	346,206	165,990	3·06
State Railways. India General.				
East Indian	4,707,202	1,539,319	3,167,883	9·68
Rajputana-Malwa system, including Rewari-Ferozepore and Holkar ...	1,688,259	836,498	851,761	7·29
Sindia	39,183	19,472	19,711	2·14
Bhopal	3,505	2,556	949	·72
Central Provinces.				
Nagpur-Chattisghur	131,760	80,370	51,390	4·24
Wardah Coal	74,742	59,627	15,115	2·08
Umaria Colliery	6,873	8,149	– 1,276	– 2·17
Burma.				
Burma State Railway ...	291,663	173,250	118,413	4·13
Assam.				
Jorhat	3,911	5,376	– 1,465	– 2·30
Chera-Companygunge	226	2,361	– 2,135	– 3·33
Bengal.				
Eastern Bengal	537,136	326,752	210,384	4·24
Kaunia-Dhurla and Mogulhat ...	14,543	11,229	3,314	3·43
Nalhati	8,654	6,711	1,943	5·65
Northern Bengal	262,401	1,41,174	121,227	4·07
Tirhoot, including Mozufferpore, Hajeepore Section	159,921	98,583	61,338	3·95
Patna-Gya	53,642	27,898	25,747	6·07
Dacca	27,997	28,699	– 702	– ·11
Central Bengal	34,575	43,351	– 8,776	– ·98
North-Western Provinces & Oudh.				
Ghazipur-Dildarnagar ...	4,738	2,461	2,277	3·23
Cawnpur-Achneyra	130,092	80,728	49,364	4·26
Bareilly-Philibhit	10,126	7,675	2,451	1·62
Indian Midland	9,234	8,199	1,035	·04
Lucknow-Sitapur Kheri ...	1,656	1,207	449	·14
Punjab.				
North-Western	2,373,245	1,316,886	1,056,359	3·69
Amritsar-Pathankot	7,320	–2,218	9,538	1·70
Bombay.				
Dhond and Manmar	23,376	.....	23,376	1·69
Southern Mahratta (subsidized) ...	182,317	125,103	57,214	1·01
Madras.				
Mysore	37,401	20,038	17,363	3·04
Total ...	18,106,213	8,604,850	9,501,363	

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It appears from the above figures that with the exception of five small railways recently opened, all the lines are paying, and that the net earnings in the year 1886-87, after allowing for the deficits of the five lines worked at a loss, is Rx. 9,501,363. The net earnings do not now come up to quite 4 per cent. of the total capital outlay. But there is every likelihood of this result being soon attained, and of the railways becoming an important source of revenue at no distant date. So far the railways have been a great success and seem to have a great future before them in a financial point of view. But we must always bear in mind that it is possible to have too much of a good thing. Besides the working lines shown in the table, the Government has on its hands the following State Railways under construction :—

1. Bilaspûr-Etawah.
2. Bilaspur-Nagpur.
3. Ranaghat Bhagwangolah.
4. Assam-Behar.
5. Sind-Sagur.
6. Southern Maharatta
7. Vizagapatam Raipur.
8. Cuddapah-Nellore.
9. Bellary-Kistna.

I should say, when the Government has completed these lines, it will have done enough for the country. It ought then to leave to private enterprise the task of opening up the unopened country. Excepting such strategic railways as may be necessary for the defence of the country, the Government ought not to undertake any new State Railways. I understand some of the above lines under construction have been made over under guarantees to private companies. But it seems to me there is little difference between constructing a State line and guaranteeing a line made over to a private company. In both cases, the risk of loss falls upon the Government. It may, under special circumstances, grant concessions in the matter of land or in other ways. But beyond this, it ought not to go and incur obligations except such as are absolutely indispensable.

Part VI.—Certain objections to a permanent settlement of Land Revenue considered.

WITH reference to Part II of the series, an eminent authority on Finance has been pleased to offer the following remarks for my consideration :—

1.—"The establishment of a permanent settlement would not effect any considerable saving in the cost of collection.

2.—If a permanent settlement is so favorable to the ryot, why are the ryots of Behar so badly off?"

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The first remark, I take it, is not an expression of the deliberate opinion of the eminent Financier but the simple suggestion of a doubt whether a permanent settlement would enable the Government to effect any considerable saving in the cost of collection. In Part II the saving was calculated at Rx. 1,050,000 for the four Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces and Punjab, but the process of calculation was not fully shown as it ought to have been. The following table, compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts of 1886-87, shows the gross land-revenue, cost of collection, and its percentage in each Province :—

Name of Province.	Gross land-revenue.	Cost of collection.	Percentage of cost of collection.
	Rx.	Rx.	
1. India General ...	112,381	56,817	50·5
2. Central Provinces ...	625,674	137,064	22
3. Burmah	1,481,163	244,140	16·5
4. Assam	430,642	95,369	22
5. Bengal	3,877,485	352,142	9
6. North-Western Provinces and Oudh	5,762,997	795,068	13·6
7. Punjab	2,104,210	332,456	15·7
8. Madras	4,458,902	776,316	17·1
9. Bombay and Sindh ...	4,202,269	673,375	16
Total ...	23,055,724	3,462,747	15

Bengal, though known as a permanently-settled Province, has large tracts under temporary settlement, *viz.*, the territory of Orissa, the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, and Khas Mahals in every district. The cost of collection in Bengal is about 9 per cent. In the temporary settlement Provinces the percentage of collection charges is much higher. Their conditions are not materially different from that of Bengal, except in the one important particular of land settlement. In Bengal the Government has simply to collect the revenue. In the other Provinces it has to settle the rent and to collect it. As shown in Part II, the ryots are harassed by an endless circle of settlement operations ; re-assessment following upon revision and revision upon

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re-assessment. But this cannot be done without expenditure of money and maintaining a large establishment of settlement and revenue officers wholly unnecessary in a permanently settled province. The difference in the percentage of collection charges is fairly attributable to this circumstance, and it may fairly be assumed that if the land settlement be made permanent in the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, Madras and Bombay, the collection charges will be reduced to about 9 per cent. as in Bengal. The saving may be calculated as follows :—

Name of Province.	Gross land revenue in 1886-87.	Cost of collection in 1886-87.	Collection charges at 9 per cent. of gross land revenue.	Saving likely to be effected by a permanent settlement.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
The North-Western Provinces and Oudh ...	5,762,997	795,668	518,669	276,399
Punjab	2,104,210	332,456	199,383	133,073
Madras	4,458,902	776,316	401,301	375,015
Bombay and Sindh ...	4,202,269	673,375	378,204	295,171
	16,528,356	2,577,215	1,497,557	1,079,658

It appears, therefore, that the saving will be Rx. 1,079,658 or upwards of ten and half millions of rupees. This may or may not be considered a " considerable saving," but it seems to be considerable enough to cover the estimated loss of increased revenue from periodical revisions of rent-rates as shown in Part II.

In estimating the saving likely to be effected by a permanent settlement, it has been assumed in this Part, that the normal cost of collection in a permanent settlement Province is 9 per cent. as in Bengal. In Part II the rule of proportion has been largely resorted to, in the absence of exact data, for the purpose of estimating the increment of revenue due to the increase of rent-rates. It may be my estimates are sanguine. I do not myself think the Government may safely act upon them. Nor do I wish that this article should be regarded as anything more than an outline of a scheme which might be worked out with important results. I do not recommend that a permanent settlement be made at a sacrifice, or with an imperfect knowledge of its financial consequences. But I do humbly recommend that accurate data and materials be collected and

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correct estimates framed upon the lines indicated in Part II, and in this Part, of

1—The saving likely to be effected by a permanent settlement in each of the four provinces mentioned above; and of

2—The future increase of revenue from periodical enhancement of rent-rates and of its present value at 4 per cent. interest calculated for each province.

Assuming correct estimates framed as above, let—

S denote the capitalized value of the estimated saving,

P the present value of the estimated future increase of revenue for the province,

R the total revenue of the province,

and

r the revenue of an estate or ryotwar holding.

Now a permanent settlement is nothing more or less than a relinquishment of the right to periodically revise the rent-rates. The full price of redemption would be P for the entire province, or $P\frac{r}{R}$ for an estate or holding. If the proprietors were to pay this full value, the Government would not only have a full equivalent in money for parting with its right of periodical assessment and harassment, but have, besides, the capitalised value of the saving in collection charges. This would hardly be fair, and certainly not liberal to the proprietors. In one sense, the saving would be the direct result of the redemption by them of the right of the Government to raise the rent-rates from time to time. Under the circumstances, there should be an equitable division of the saving between them. The Government should take one-half and grant the other half as a concession to the proprietors. This would reduce the price of redemption to $P-\frac{S}{2}$ for the entire province,

and

$\frac{r}{R}\left(P-\frac{S}{2}\right)$ for an estate or holding.

This result is not materially different from that arrived at by a different process of calculation in Part II, if the estimates are correct. But it is better to show the result thus in an indisputable form, leaving the estimates to be framed by the Government, than to frame calculations on estimates which may prove sanguine or incorrect. All controversy upon the point, whether the saving in the collection charges would be considerable or not, is thus avoided.

I think the Government would consult its best interests and do a graceful act of sound policy, if it offered a permanent settlement at the above price in the four provinces. The

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proprietors of those provinces would equally consult their best interests if they thankfully accepted the offer, or anticipated it by petitioning the Government for a permanent settlement at a fair and reasonable price. This is no novel or original idea. Permanent tenures at fixed rents are common in the Province of Bengal where the zamindars find it their interest to create such tenures for a money equivalent of the estimated future increase of rent and add to their net income the saving in the collection charges. All large estates are more or less unwieldy. A permanent putni settlement seems to be the only proper arrangement in regard to such estates, and one which has well stood the test of time. If this be true of large estates, it must *a fortiori* be true of State landlordism over provinces. I use the phrase as synonymous with the system of temporary settlements under which the Government periodically revises or assesses the rents of ryots. Its evils and disadvantages may be summed up as follows :—

1.—The system of temporary settlements is essentially a dog-in-the-manger policy. It prevents the ryot from making the fullest use of the land. He can have little heart to improve the land or crops, when such improvement may lead to an enhancement of his rent. Let the incubus of temporary settlement be removed. Let the ryot know that the Settlement Officer will not favour him any more with his visits. You will see how the land, the crops and everything about him will wonderfully and rapidly improve.

2.—All settlement operations, whether for revision of rent or re-assessment, are productive of great harassment, trouble and expense to the ryots, independently of any enhancement of rent, which in these days is scanty and casual. There is, in fact, more harassment than assessment and a plentiful levy of black-mail. Supplies must be found for the settlement camp and all the underlings, and payments do not always reach the proper hands. A permanent settlement, will put an end to these periodical visits of Settlement Officers.

3.—The system of temporary settlements keeps the ryots in a state of perennial discontent. This feeling is never allowed to die out, but carefully renewed from time to time by the visits of the Settlement Officers. It has been shown in Part II that the Government, being a foreign Government, must not expect any sentimental loyalty from the people of India. The grievance-monger and political agitator are abroad spreading discontent far and wide. In view of the

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signs of the times, the Government should remove any cause of discontent among the agricultural population, which is, in fact, the people of India.

4.—On the occurrence of a famine, the Government has not only to feed the starving population, but to remit the rents of the ryots. In a permanent settlement province no remission of rent or revenue is necessary. In a temporarily-settled province such remission adds largely to the famine expenditure.

5.—In a temporarily-settled province, realization of rent or revenue can never be so satisfactory as in a permanently-settled province. I am not, however, in possession of any statistics showing the percentage of arrears in the four provinces. But I am sure it must be much larger than in Bengal. Now a permanent settlement will greatly raise the value of the estates and holdings. The payment of rent will consequently become more easy and punctual. There will be contributions to the Exchequer in various other ways and shapes: (See Part II and Part III), such as:—

1.—An income-tax.

2.—A stamp duty on the transfer of an estate or holding whether by sale, gift, mortgage or lease at one per cent. upon the capital value.

3.—A succession tax in court-fee stamps upon the grant of probate, letters of administration, &c.

In other words, if the Government make estates more valuable by granting a permanent settlement, it will, in various ways, participate in the benefits and advantages of the rise in the value of such estates.

I must now proceed to consider the second objection to a permanent settlement, which is as follows:—

"If a permanent settlement is so favourable to the ryot, why are the ryots of Behar so badly off?"

The objection assumes a great deal more than I can fairly allow. The ryots of Behar are, no doubt, badly off relatively to the ryots of Bengal. But it will be a mistake to assume that they are worse off, as a whole, than the ryots of the North-Western Provinces, the Deccan or Madras. There are in Behar *Guzashta* ryots, *Gora* ryots and other descriptions of ryots entitled to hold at fixed rates. Their holdings sell at from one hundred to five hundred rupees a bigha. Where will you find the like of such in any of the temporary settlement provinces? At the same time it cannot be denied that the

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Behar ryots as a body are not so well off as they might be, and certainly badly off relatively to the Bengal ryots. The causes of this difference in their respective conditions, although under the same permanent settlement, are chiefly two—

1.—The system of Bhaoli or produce rents which prevails in Behar. About half a century ago, when agricultural produce was cheap and money dear, this was, perhaps, a convenient arrangement for the ryot. But the price of produce has trebled and quadrupled since. The result is that the Bhaoli rent is now three or four times higher than the money rent, and presses hard upon the ryot.

2.—Over-population and the absence or paucity of manufacturing industries in Behar. Mr. MacDonnell, in his Memorandum on the Food Supply of Behar and Bengal, published in the Statistical Reporter, Vol. I, page 203, says,—"The Patna Commissionership, with an area one-fourth less, but with a population three and one-third times denser than that of Ireland, and 20 per cent denser than that of Belgium, the most populous country in Europe, is divided by the Ganges into two not very unequal portions. . . . . Generally speaking, it is an agricultural region; but if regard be had to the North Gangetic portion alone, it may be said that manufacturing industries are altogether unknown. . . . . It may broadly be said that all the people north of the river, and the great majority of people south of it, live as best they may on the produce of the soil. It may further be stated generally of the Commissionership, but absolutely of the north of the Ganges, that it is barren of mineral wealth."

It would seem, then, that the permanent settlement is not answerable for the state of things in Behar.

The miserable condition of the ryots is owing to the existence of economic conditions in that province which would make its people miserable under any form of land settlement. The reference to the Behar ryots does not seem to have any relevancy to Madras, Bombay or the Punjab. In those three provinces the present settlements are temporary *ryotwary*. A permanent settlement, if made at all, will be made with the ryots or peasant proprietors. There is no reasonable ground for apprehending that they will become miserable under a permanent settlement, which will fix their rents in perpetuity and greatly raise the value of their holdings. A permanent settlement will, no doubt, deprive them of the periodical visits of their friends the Settlement Officers. But I am sure

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the ryots will be able to bear this bereavement manfully. In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, where the system of temporary zamindary settlement is in force, a permanent settlement will have to be made with the zamindars. In regard to this province it is a matter for consideration whether anything should be done to safe-guard the ryot against the zamindar. A permanent settlement of land revenue will not affect the law which now regulates the relation between them. The Government may, if it deems necessary, strengthen the position of the ryot and enact additional safe-guards for his protection as has lately been done in Bengal.

There is one important point in connection with permanent settlements which I have not yet considered, but which I must not leave unconsidered. It is this. What should be done with waste lands lying within the ambit of estates? A moderate quantity of waste land lying within an estate, and not exceeding 25 per cent. of the total area, should go with the estate for obvious reasons. Land which is now under cultivation may become waste a few years hence. But under a permanent settlement there can be no abatement of revenue upon this ground. Hence a moderate margin of waste land ought to be allowed, as is allowed in Bengal in the permanent settlements of chur lands. If the quantity of waste land be large, then, after allowing a reasonable margin to the proprietor, a price should be fixed upon the residue as for the sale in fee simple of waste land, and this price added to the bonus for the redemption of the right of periodical assessment. In tracts where cultivation is sparse, and there is a pre-ponderance of jungle, the Government should postpone a permanent settlement until the land is fairly cleared. There are such unsettled tracts in the Province of Bengal.

Part VII.—Concluding Observations.

I have shown how the revenue, under each of the five heads treated of in the preceding Parts of this series, may be improved and sundry abuses connected therewith removed. The suggested improvements may be summed up as follows:—

		Rx.
I.	The Income tax, by correcting certain mistakes in the framing of the Act, ...	281,165
II.	The Land revenue, by making permanent settlements in the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, Madras and Bombay, which will enable the Government to save in the collection charges	1,050,000
	Carried over Rx. ...	1,331,165

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	Brought forward Rx. ...	1,331,165
	And also to obtain Rx. 7,500,000 as bonus, which at 4 per cent. will give an annual income of	300,000
III.	The Stamp revenue, by abolishing the original side of the several High Courts, which will lessen the expenditure on the Civil Courts and increase the sale of court-fee stamps, about	200,000
IV.	The Customs revenue, by imposing a low duty of 2½ per cent. ad-valorem upon imports £1,314,353 or	1,752,470
	Total Rx. ...	3,583,635

Besides this, the disposal of the unprofitable irrigation works, as recommended in Part V, will effect a considerable saving which I have no means of estimating. I cannot presume to hope that all my suggestions will be adopted. But I may certainly hope that they will be duly and fully taken into consideration.

There is one danger, which the Government should carefully guard against. It ought never, for the sake of obtaining popularity, to yield to the weakness of abolishing any of the existing taxes, or making any substantial reduction in them. The repeal of the income-tax and reduction of the import duties during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, and the repeal of the import duties and reduction of the salt-tax during that of Lord Ripon, are, it is humbly submitted, instances of such weakness. The income-tax has been re-imposed and the salt-tax raised to a uniform rate throughout India. It now only remains to re-impose the import duties, and thereby to put the finances on a secure and satisfactory footing. Even if there be a considerable surplus, it need not embarrass our financiers. Let it be applied to the reduction of the Public Debt. The revenue from every one of our principal taxes is slowly and continuously increasing every year, without any increase in the rate of duty. The rate is not susceptible of further increase in most of the taxes. The only taxes, of which rates may be considerably increased in a time of emergency, are the income-tax and Customs duties. This principle ought to be well understood between the Government and the people of India, that it must not impose any new taxes, excepting a duty upon imports which must be restored, and that it must not raise the rates of the existing taxes, except those of the income-tax and Customs duties in a time of need. An understanding of this kind seems to be urgently necessary in order to remove misapprehensions and promote a good understanding between the Government and the people. If a representative form of Government be hereafter introduced, there will be the greater need for clearly

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enunciating this principle of taxation. In a representative Government, the majority will try to shift the burden of taxation as much as possible from themselves and their constituents to the minority, or in other words, they will try to favor one class at the expense of another in the matter of taxation. The only safeguard against this is to strictly define its limits as above and thus to curtail their power for mischief by allowing them little or no latitude in the matter of taxation.

It has been shown in Part IV that our wealth has largely increased under British rule and is increasing every year by about twelve millions sterling. The natural consequences of this increase of wealth are that the wages of labor and the price of the staple articles of food have largely increased. In the language of Political Economy, money having become more abundant, its value or purchasing power has declined in proportion. Now let us consider what the effect of this accession of wealth has been upon the condition of the people of India. The cultivating ryots ought to be well off, and are certainly well off in Bengal and several other provinces, in consequence of the great rise in the price of agricultural produce of all kinds. The ryots in parts of Behar, the North-Western Provinces and the Deccan are not so prosperous. But this is owing to counteracting causes which prevent them from fully profiting by the rise in the value of produce. Laborers, skilled and unskilled, and menial servants are well off; their wages have generally doubled and trebled during the last 40 years, and even quadrupled in places. But there is one exception, the weaving industry, which has greatly declined. Excluding the skilful artizans of Dacca, Santipur and Chandernagore, who are able to hold their own against the competition of Manchester, the weavers as a class are badly off. Large numbers of them have betaken themselves to other occupations. The few who still cling to the calling of their ancestors find it difficult to earn a livelihood. Let them take comfort. Their wrongs will be amply avenged by our cotton mills, which are destined at no very distant date to oust Manchester from the markets of Asia.

Our traders and shopkeepers have a fine time of it by reason of the great expansion of trade and the general growth of artificial wants and a taste for luxuries formerly unknown in India. Professional men were, till recently, reaping a rich harvest and making hay in bright sunshine. But of late there has been a glut in all the professions, especially in the profession of law. The middle class *bhadra lok* (gentry), although more wealthy than formerly, are as a class worse off relatively to the other sections of the population. All *kalampesha*, or literate men from the lower classes, who have made a little money,

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are freely admitted into its ranks. But once a family becomes *bhadra lok*, its members, however reduced in circumstances, will never think of returning to the more humble occupation of their remote ancestors. They will live by their wits, sponge on their relatives or friends, beg, cheat, steal or forge. But they will never condescend to do any honest manual or menial work. A few years ago shopkeeping was considered low. But more enlightened notions now prevail. Shopkeeping is now about the lowest occupation which a *bhadra lok* will follow. The *genus* middle-class gentry may be classified as follows :—

I. Gentry of independent means. Those who have landed properties, or investments in funds, or both, sufficient for their support.

II. Gentry of semi-independent means. Those who have some landed properties or investments in funds, but not sufficient for their support, and betake themselves to service or to a trade or profession.

III. Gentry in service and chiefly dependent upon it for their livelihood. This is by far the most numerous class, comprising all ministerial officers, amlas and clerks in Government offices, mercantile houses and zamindari establishments, and judicial and executive officers in the uncovenanted service of the Government.

IV. Gentry in the professions from which they earn their livelihood, excepting those who have attained high eminence, who should be classed as upper-class gentry.

V. Gentry in trade, shopkeeping or other business, and not possessing any other means of livelihood.

VI. Gentry who live by their wits and have no ostensible means of livelihood. These gentlemen swarm in towns and about courts, places of large resort and everywhere there is a chance of anything turning up.

Of the above classes, it may be mentioned that persons in classes III, IV, and V, when they have made money, enter class I or class II. There is a great deal of money-lending in all the classes. The savings are either invested in land or funds, or lent out at interest. Money-lenders, as a rule, cannot help being land-holders, although they may not wish to invest in land. It frequently happens that the only means of recovering the debt is by foreclosing or selling out the debtor. The income of the middle class gentry has not increased in the same proportion as the value of the necessaries of life. Their artificial wants have, on the other hand, largely increased. A generation ago, a *bhadralok* family, consisting of four or

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five persons, could live and keep a servant upon Rs. 240 a year. Now a similar family cannot live with equal comfort under Rs. 500. It is more difficult to fix the maximum income of this class or to draw the line where the middle class ends and the upper class begins. Thirty years ago, a family which had Rs. 5,000 or more a year was considered wealthy. But now a family which has less than Rs. 10,000 a year could scarcely be considered so. We may take it, therefore, that the income of the middle class gentry ranges from Rs. 500 to Rs. 10,000.

The upper class gentry, those whose incomes exceed Rs. 10,000 a year, include, by the nature of our classification, the most successful men in the public service, in the professions or in trade and commerce, all large land-holders, fund-holders and owners of house property in towns. But in this poor country the number of the upper class gentry is sadly small.

According to the income-tax returns, there were only 6,929 persons who had incomes exceeding Rs. 10,000 and of whom 3,350 (or nearly one-half) were Government servants.* The income-tax returns do not include the profits of agricultural land which is ninety-nine per cent. of rentable land in India. The number of land-holders whose income is Rs. 10,000 and upwards, is not likely to exceed that of Englishmen and other foreigners who have the same income in the Government service or mercantile line or in the professions. We may estimate, therefore, the number of the upper class gentry at 6,900 or about 7,000 in round figures. So that we have not even an upper ten thousand in all India. But the number is increasing every year and is expected to reach ten thousand in a few years. In the present state of native society, the uses of the upper class gentry are great and manifold. They support at least ten times their number of middle class gentry as relatives, dependents and amlas, and a still larger number of menial servants, artizans and labourers, besides contributing largely to the support of the various industries, trades and professions and of the destitute poor.

The increase of wealth has, oddly enough, made the people less hospitable and less charitable. In the old days of rude and cheap plenty, there was more hospitality and more charity. *Atit-sheba* (feeding all way-farers who come to the house) and alms-giving were regarded as religious duties and practised as such by all well-to-do families of the middle and upper classes. It is not so cheap or easy now to practice *atit-sheba* which has been generally abandoned in towns, and exists in the country only in opulent families. Alms-giving has also greatly

* See the Financial Statement of the Hon'ble J. Westland, 26th March 1888.

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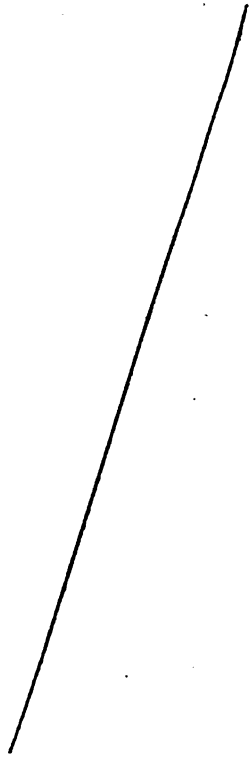
declined. It seems that orthodox Hindus are more charitable than those who have received an English education. The latter, as a class, are not much inclined to alms-giving and have or pretend to have a notion that it promotes idleness. Laying this "flattering unction" to their soul, they will not give any thing to any body. It is doubtful whether this English notion will hold good in India, where there are no work-houses or poor rates, and where the destitute poor depend entirely upon private and spontaneous charity for their subsistence.

There is a great deal of misapprehension among my countrymen regarding the revenue and expenditure of the Government of India. The preparation of a clear and easily intelligible account and its wide circulation will do more to dispel such misapprehension than volumes of elaborate explanation. The account should be simple and unincumbered with extraneous matters such as District Local Funds (Road-cess) and their expenditure. (See Part II.) I have prepared an account from the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the year 1886-87, from which I have eliminated the extraneous items and with which I shall conclude this Part and the series.



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No. I.

Account of Net Revenue in 1886-87.

Heads of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.	Deduct collection charges, refunds, drawbacks, assignments and compensations.	Deduct expenditure in England.	Net Revenue.
	Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx
Land Revenue ...	23,055,724	4,450,048	1,505	18,604,171
Opium ..	8,942,976	2,726,580 (including cost of production.)	2,551	6,213,845
Salt ...	6,657,644	916,523 (including compensation and cost of production.)	10	5,741,111
Stamp ...	3,751,280	131,114	61,194	3,558,972
Excise ...	4,375,174	155,252	222	4,219,700
Public works cess and other public cesses* ...	1,028,751	19,000	.....	1,009,751
Customs ...	1,246,293	163,936	.....	1,082,357
Assessed taxes (income-tax) ...	1,354,735	77,225	.....	1,277,510
Forest ...	1,103,970	717,912	3,352	382,706
Registration ...	299,059	185,967	.....	113,092
Tributes from Native States ...	695,415	94,805	.....	600,610
Total Rs. ...	52,511,021	9,638,362	68,834	42,803.825

* This head of revenue, termed "Provincial Rates" in the Government accounts, included "District Local Funds," which has been eliminated.

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No. II.

Account of Net Expenditure in 1886-87.

Heads of Expenditure.	Expenditure in India.	Expenditure in England.	Total Expenditure.	Deduct Receipts and Credits.	Net Expenditure.
Interest on debt other than that charged to Railways and Irrigation works ..	736,495	3,573,908	4,310,403	670,548	3,639,855
Post Office ...	1,189,120	161,172	1,350,292	1,154,307	195,985
Telegraph ..	560,660	153,804	714,464	692,747	21 717
Mint ...	71,306	9,200	80,506	180,428	99,922
Salaries and expenses of Civil Departments.					
General administration ...	1,392,269	341,606	1,733,875	....	1,733,875
Law and Justice ...	3,304,985	1,468	3,396,453	587.196	2,809,257
Police ...	3,285,097	....	3,285,097	315 863	2,969.234
Marine ...	530 938	317,185	848,124	200,029	648,095
Education ...	1,304,732	605	1,305,337	208,395	1,096 942
Ecclesiastical ...	158,676	413	158,989	.....	158,989
Medical ...	746,820	9,865	756,685	64,611	692.074
Political ...	713.773	41,041	754,814	....	754,814
Scientific and other Departments	431,150	27,992	454,142	85,564	373.578
Total ..	11,958,340	740,176	12,698 516	1,461,658	11,236,858
Miscellaneous Civil charges.					
Political pensions ..	622,524	25 164	647,688	....	647,688
Pensions and furlough and absentee allowances ..	694,270	2,426 927	3,121,197	399.661	2,721,536
Stationery and Printing ..	435,671	126,359	562,030	96,816	465 214
Miscellaneous ..	328,312	41,830	370,142	351,797	18,345
Total ..	2,080,777	2,620,280	4,701,057	848,274	3,852,783
Railways.					
Working expenses ..	5,819,889	....	5,219,889	....	....
Interest on debt and surplus profits of guaranteed Companies..	3,035,276	7,271,620	10,306.896	....	....
Miscellaneous ..	139,642	....	139,642	.....	.....
Total ..	8,394,807	7.271,620	15,666,427	14,477.759	1,188,668
Irrigation.					
Working expenses ..	1,316,142	....	1 316,142	....	....
Interest on debt ..	992,591	1,921	994 512	....	.....
Total ..	2,308,733	1,921	2,310,654	1,656 705	653,949
Construction of Railways, charged to Revenue and Famine Insurance ..	383,077	.....	383,077	....	383.077
Construction of Irrigation works, charged to Famine Insurance	107,979	....	107,979	....	107,979
Buildings and Roads* ..	3,683,000	120,000	3,820,000	727,574	3,072,426
Army ..	14,620,516	4,904,526	19,528,042	985,003	18,540,039
Special defence works ...	123,110	202,516	325,626	....	325,626
Total expenditure charged against revenue ..	46,214,920	19,759 123	65,974,043	22 855,003	43,119,040

* This head of expenditure in the Government accounts included repairs of roads and other expenditure of the District Local Funds Account. These items have been eliminated.

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The total expenditure in England is in account No. I Rx. 68,834
" " in account No. II Rx. 19,974,043

Total Rx. 20,042,877

which is equal to £14,409,949, the loss by exchange being Rx. 5,632,928

The expenditure shown in account No. II is net expenditure charged to Revenue. The Government borrowed during the year Rx. 10,503,383 and expended it as follows :—

Capital outlay on Railways and Irrigation works ... Rx. 5,670,484
Capital charge involved in Redemption of Liabilities connected with the purchase of the East India and the Scinde, Punjab and Delhi Railways ... ... Rx. 4,914,546

MOHINY MOHUN ROY,
A retired Pleader of the Calcutta High Court, and ex-Member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

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ART. VIII.—FREE TRADE RE-EXAMINED.

IN the controversy regarding the merits of free-trade, which has been revived in England during the last few years by the sheer force of circumstances, the orthodox and the dissenting political economists have been ranged in opposite camps—the former on the side of the defence, the latter on that of the attack. So far the logical victory has been with the defence; but neither party, it appears to me, has gone to the real root of the matter. The present moment, when a break in the clouds that overhang British commerce has been followed by a temporary lull in the dispute, is, perhaps, not an unfavourable one for a dispassionate examination of the question at issue.

Along with many others who not very long since regarded that question as settled for ever, I have been led by recent events to re-examine the grounds of my old faith. The result is unexpected. For, while I dissent altogether both from the arguments of the attack and from their views as to what ought to be done, I find myself in agreement with them as to the unwisdom of what has been done. While, in short, my re-examination of the question has been conducted strictly from the standpoint of orthodox political economy, I have been reluctantly driven to the conclusion, not merely that the policy inaugurated in England in 1846, was based on an imperfect survey of the essential elements of the problem under discussion, but that, when the neglected elements come to be taken into account, the decision then arrived at must appear to have been an erroneous one.

I invite economists to go over the ground with me, in the belief that, starting from the same principles, we shall arrive at similar results. Should my logic prove to be faulty, I shall be the first to rejoice; for it leads to conclusions at which we may well stand aghast.

And let me premise that, between the question of the wisdom or unwisdom of the policy inaugurated by the repeal of the Corn Laws, and that of the desirability of reverting to a system of protection, there is a wide distinction. There are steps which, once taken, cannot be retraced. The consequences of the repeal of the Corn Laws and the cognate measures which followed it, have been such that the conditions with which England is now confronted, differ *toto cœlo* from those with which she had to deal in 1846. An economic

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system which is possible, and may be desirable, for a population capable of subsisting, or nearly capable of subsisting, on the produce of its own soil, may be not only undesirable, but impossible for a population largely dependent on other soils than its own for the prime necessaries of life.

Speaking broadly, the defect which, as it appears to me, vitiated the decision of 1846 was, that it was based on a consideration of the immediate and proximate, to the exclusion of the more remote consequences of free-trade. Though Cobden and his school would probably have been the last men to repudiate the demands of that higher altruism which includes within its purview the interests of future generations as well as the present, they implicitly assumed that what results in immediate economic gain to the nation is necessarily for its benefit. Their opponents, too, seem to have been content to meet them on this basis, the result being that the controversy turned rather upon the question, whether what was bad for a particular class could be good for the nation at large, than on the question how far, in considering what is good for the nation at large, the distant, as well as the immediate future ought to be taken into account. And here I may admit at once that, as long as the enquiry is restricted within these narrow limits, the case for free trade is impregnable.

Stated as succinctly as possible, that case is as follows:— If the outturn of a given quantity of labour and capital, applied to the manufacture of goods, will purchase on the spot more corn from abroad than can be produced at home by the same quantity of labour and capital, then it is advantageous to the nation at large that so much labour and capital should be applied to the manufacture of goods, and the outturn exchanged for foreign corn, rather than that it should be applied to the production of corn at home.

It is useless, in that case, to plead the loss to the native agriculturist, for he has his remedy in turning his labour from the production of corn to that of hardware, or piece-goods, or whatever else the conditions of the market or his own special aptitudes may indicate, or possibly, in transferring it to a country where the conditions are more favourable to agriculture. Some hardship, it is true, may be entailed upon him by the change; but it would be unreasonable to set his temporary convenience against the permanent interests of the entire nation. Or, to put the matter in another form, the consumer might, with unanswerable reason, object to paying him a perpetual bonus for the purpose of enabling him to persist in an uneconomical application of his labour. The most that could be justly urged on his behalf would be that

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if practicable, the nation ought to compensate him for the temporary loss. But this is a side issue which does not affect the merits of the main question.

Equally unavailing is it to plead, as some protectionists have lately pleaded, the loss to the nation at large arising from the sterilisation of labour and capital during the interval between their displacement from one form of industry and their transfer to another ; for, while this loss is only temporary, the gain of which it is a condition is permanent.

If the argument holds good for corn, it holds equally good for every other kind of produce, and for every article of manufacture that stands in a similar position.

As a matter of fact, with but a single exception which does not affect the merits of the question, all the beneficial consequences anticipated by the free-traders in England have actually been realised. The price of corn has greatly fallen, and British trade has immensely increased ; and there is no room for doubt that these results are largely due to the repeal of the Corn Laws and subsequent similar measures. It is true that the prices of pastoral products have at the same time risen to an extent that makes it questionable whether the general level of agricultural prices is much lower now than it was in the decade 1840-50. But, after all, the true test of the economic condition of the population is not prices, but the standard of living, or rather the ratio which prices bear to earnings ; and when we come to apply this test to the United Kingdom, we find that the average wages of the working man would buy about 20 per cent. more of the necessaries of life in 1884 than in 1840, while between 1850 and 1884 the consumption of wheat per head of population had actually risen from 290lbs. to 340 lbs., that of meat from 76 lbs. to 105 lbs., and that of dairy products in a still higher ratio.

If, then, the argument for free-trade is to be successfully impugned, it must be by showing, not that it has failed to produce the benefits anticipated by its advocates, but that it has also produced, or is calculated to produce, other consequences of a character so injurious as to outweigh those benefits.

Can this be shown? I think it can.

Mr. Goschen, in his inaugural address two years ago at Aberdeen, insisted strongly on want of intellectuality, meaning by that term the temper that leads men to take an intellectual interest in the bread-winning work of life, as being the defect by which, next to inferiority of linguistic and technical attainments, Englishmen are most severely handicapped in the international struggle for existence. Now, while I am quite prepared to admit that, as compared with some of their

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continental rivals, Englishmen are lamentably deficient in the quality in question, and while I entertain no doubt that they would be greatly benefited even from an economic point of view, by cultivating it, I unhesitatingly deny the rank assigned to it by Mr. Goschen among the conditions necessary to their industrial success. The quality, I apprehend, which, after the appropriate technical acquirements, is most needed to place Englishmen on a level with their competitors in the industrial race, is not intellectuality, but frugality.

And here, possibly, owing to an ambiguity of language, I run some risk of being misunderstood. In the ethics of the copy book, frugality occupies a prominent place among the minor virtues; and it may not unnatually be inferred that, as Mr. Goschen finds fault with Englishmen for their lack of intellectuality, so I do not hold them altogether blameless when I attribute to them the need of frugality. Let me then state at once, as emphatically as possible, that this is very far from my intention. What I mean by frugality in this connection is, the temper or habit which reconciles people to a comparatively low standard of living. There are, doubtless, circumstances under which that temper is an advantage to its possessors; but if it is a virtue, it is so only in the sense in which a readiness to accept the inevitable is a virtue.

So far from furnishing just ground for censure, a comparatively high standard of living, within certain limits—as long, that is to say, as it bears a just ratio to income,—connotes a comparatively high standard not only of moral and physical well-being, but of philoprogenitive prudence and capacity for progress. More than this, it constitutes an invaluable margin of insurance against a rainy day. A descent from a higher to a lower standard of living is, in short, a descent from a higher to a lower state of actual well-being and prospective security, and is thus at once a degradation and a danger.

When I say that frugality is the quality which, after the appropriate knowledge and skill, is most needed by Englishmen to place them on a level with their competitors in the industrial struggle, what I mean is that, if the course of events brings the English workman into industrial competition with the German, or the Italian, or the Chinese workman, and if he possesses no special advantages over these rivals in point of knowledge, or skill, or material resources, or position, or the like, then the prime condition of his holding his own in the contest is, that he shall be prepared to accept the same standard of living as the German, or the Italian, or the Chinese workman, as the case may be.

Needs must, when the devil drives; there is no question of virtue or vice, of praise or blame, involved.

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That the main cause of the increasing difficulty experienced by England in maintaining her place in the front rank of the industrial race, is the cheapness of foreign labour; that this cheapness is dependent on a comparatively low standard of living, and that free-trade is somehow to blame for the turn things have taken, is rapidly dawning on those whom the shoe pinches. What is not so generally recognised, if it is at all clearly recognised, is that the difficulty is the result of the operation of a law which is implicitly involved in the very principle of free-trade.

That law and its corollary may be stated generally as follows: *The ultimate tendency of free-trade between communities with different standards of living, is to reduce those different standards to a common level.* Assuming a comparatively high standard of living to be in itself an advantage, it follows that, as between communities with different standards of living, the gain and the loss resulting from the operation of free-trade incline, in the long run, to the communities which start with the lowest and the highest standards respectively.

But, though the ultimate tendency of free-trade is thus to equalise standards of living throughout the area of competition, it does not necessarily follow that the process of equalisation will come into play at once; for there are other conditions which may interfere to hold the operation of the law in suspense, or to modify its results. And as long as, owing to the interference of any such conditions, the process of equalisation is deferred, the competing community which starts with the highest standard of living may be the chief gainer in spite of it.

It can scarcely be necessary, in a discussion of this kind, to prove first principles; but for the sake of clearness, it may be desirable to re-state them:—

It is universally admitted by economists that, free competition being granted, price is, in the long run, governed by cost of production. It is further admitted that, under the same condition, the cost of living of the producer is one of the elements of the cost of production. And it necessarily follows that, where the other elements are equal, and that of living varies, the total cost of production will vary in some ratio with that of living. Where, then, two or more communities with different standards of living are brought into free industrial competition on otherwise equal terms, the community with the lowest standard of living will be able to undersell the others.

By way of illustration, if illustration be necessary, let us take the case of two steam-engines, of the same power but of different construction, one of which, for every horse-power

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of energy produced, consumes ten pounds of coal per hour, while the other consumes only five pounds. Both engines are capable of doing precisely the same *quantum* of useful work, and if they are applied to the same machinery, the outturn in both cases will be identical in kind and quality also. Nevertheless, two such engines cannot compete industrially on the same terms. Purchasers will pay no more for the work produced by the aid of that which consumes ten pounds of coal per hour, than they will for the work of that which consumes five pounds; and the manufacturer who employs the former, unless he enjoys some special advantage over his rivals, which covers the extra cost of fuel, will, in ordinary circumstances, have to choose between changing his engine and retiring from the contest.

Now the case of two communities, capable, man for man, of the same amount of physical energy, but living up to widely different standards, runs, economically, on all fours with that of the two classes of engines just referred to. If two such communities are brought into active industrial competition, and if all the other conditions which govern the cost of production are equal, then the community with the higher standard of living will have to choose between seeing itself undersold, and so driven out of the field, and accommodating its standard of living to that of its more frugal rival. It can avoid this alternative only if it possesses such special advantages over its rival in other respects as lessen the cost of the remaining elements of production, and these only so far as the difference covers the extra cost of its higher standard of living. As long as it possesses such special advantages, and the margin of additional profit due to them is sufficient, or more than sufficient, to cover the difference between the cost of its standard of living and that of its rival, so long will it be a gainer by a policy of free-trade; but the moment it ceases to occupy this favoured position, it will become a loser by such a policy, in so far as a reduction of its standard of living will then become a condition of its continuing the competition. As long as it continues to retain any portion of its former special advantage, it will also retain a corresponding measure of its previous power of living more expensively than its rival, for it will be under no necessity to reduce its standard of living further than may suffice to equalise the total cost of production to itself and its rival respectively. But, should its balance of special advantage entirely disappear, its power of living more expensively than its rival will disappear at the same time.

The common level at which the different standards of living of the competing communities will be equalised, may be

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expected to lie somewhere between those of the highest and lowest standards of living with which they start. But this will not necessarily be the case; for the level at which equalisation will actually take place, will depend upon the question how far the most frugal community may choose to avail itself of the opportunity afforded it of raising its standard of living.

So far, I have advanced only one stage in the proof of the law that free-trade tends ultimately to the equalisation of different standards of living among the competing communities. I have shown that, in the absence of special advantages, this is its inevitable tendency, and, having shown this, I am in a position to say that, before a community with a comparatively high standard of living can safely adopt a free-trade policy, it is bound to make sure, not merely that it actually possesses such a degree of special advantage over its rivals, as to ensure it an excess of profit equal, or more than equal, to the difference between the cost of its standard of living and theirs, but that it can depend upon the permanent continuance of such a degree of special advantage.

Now, as surely as, in the absence of special advantages, the ultimate tendency of free industrial competition is to equalise standards of living among the competitors, so surely does the general course of progress tend to the extinction of special advantages.

An exhaustive enumeration of all the kinds of special advantage by which cost of production may be lessened, would carry me beyond the limits of an article. Suffice it to say that they divide themselves, for the most part, into advantages of knowledge and skill, advantages of geograpical position, advantages of natural resources, advantages of capital, and moral and political advantages. I purposely exclude advantages arising from artificial material resources, such as machinery, shipping and the like, not because they may not be very important, but because they clearly depend, in the long run, on the possession of the other kinds enumerated.

Now, knowledge under the conditions of modern civilisation, is an open book, in which all who will may read, and its possession by one community consequently implies its possession, sooner or later, by all communities interested in its acquisition. Advantages derived by a community from superior knowledge are, therefore, in their nature evanescent.

Skill, again, stands in a very similar predicament. It is mainly dependent upon practice, and so far is imitable. That there may be permanent differences of natural aptitude among even cognate races, is possible, but not by any means so certain that it would be safe to depend upon them as final factors in industrial competition. It is, at least, extremely

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improbable that there exist between the foremost nations of Europe any such permanent natural differences at all comparable in importance with the differences actually obtaining between their various standards of living.

We come next to advantages of geographical position. It might seem at first sight that these, at all events, were inalienable. But they are largely relative to other conditions, such as the sources of materials and labour, on the one hand, or to markets, on the other; and, so far as this is the case, though less ephemeral, it may be, in their nature, than the classes of advantage just considered, they are far from being absolutely permanent. They are liable to be affected by every change in the direction of the great streams of commerce, and by every displacement of the chief centres of supply and demand.

History abounds in examples of the rise and disappearance, sometimes gradual, sometimes startlingly sudden, of advantages of geographical position of the first magnitude. To cite but one instance among many. The communities of the valley of the Euphrates, not many centuries since, enjoyed a geographical position of eminent advantage, owing to the fact that the main portion of the rich traffic between Asia and Europe passed through their midst. But this advantage was swept away almost in a night by the results of a simple scientific discovery. The invention of the mariner's compass, by rendering the navigation of the ocean beyond sight of land not only possible, but comparatively safe, was rapidly followed by the abandonment of the old caravan route for that round the Cape of Good Hope; and what was once a valley of fertile fields and sumptuous cities has lapsed into a wilderness.

Even where the course of progress does not altogether destroy advantages arising from geographical position, it tends to minimise them, by facilitating communications, and thus reducing the comparative importance of cost of transport as an element in cost of production.

I now proceed to consider the case of advantages arising from the possession of superior natural resources.

These are of diverse kinds and of different orders of stability. Speaking broadly, the only case in which absolute permanence can be predicated of any such advantage, is where the resource on which it depends is not merely a monopoly of the community possessing it, but inexhaustible. I will not go so far as to say that such a case is, in the nature of things, impossible, but I can call to mind no case which can be confidently said to fulfil these conditions. But, even supposing such a case to exist, it would not, in view of the law I am endeavouring to demonstrate, be sufficient to justify a community in adopting a

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free-trade policy. For this purpose, not only must the advantage be one of which permanence is predicable, it must also be of such industrial importance, that the gain derived from it under a system of free-trade shall outweigh any losses that may arise from the adoption of that system in other branches of the national industry.

The most important of the natural resources from which special industrial advantage may accrue to a community, may be divided into mineral and agricultural. As to the former, they are in their nature eminently exhaustible. Where, moreover, they are not monopolies, the advantage arising from their possession tends largely to resolve itself into an advantage of geographical position. Regarded from an industrial point of view, it is not the mere ownership of the minerals, so much as the cost of working them and laying them down where they are required, that is material. It ceases to be an advantage to the English manufacturer to have coal or iron in the soil within a few miles of his door, if, owing to cheaper extraction or any other cause, those minerals can be procured at a distance so much more cheaply that the difference in the cost of carriage is covered; and if the Belgian or German manufacturer can obtain them from a distance as cheaply as the English manufacturer from his own neighbourhood, he is, so far, in as good a position as the English manufacturer. Thus the course of progress, before it actually extinguishes the special advantages arising from the ownership of such resources, tends to minimise them in two different ways. The extraction of the products at home tends, other things being equal, to become more costly as exhaustion is approached, and the availability of alternative sources of supply is increased by improved facilities of intercourse and cheaper communications.

Special advantages derived from superior agricultural resources stand on a somewhat different footing. They depend partly on special conditions of climate, partly on special qualities of soil. As agricultural products are capable of reproduction, they are not exhaustible in the same sense as mineral products. But so far as their production depends on qualities of soil, which are exhaustible, it tends, in the course of time, to become more costly. Here, again, moreover, if the products are not monopolies, which is really the case, the course of progress tends to open up alternative sources of supply.

On the whole, no doubt, special advantages of this class are more stable than any that have yet been discussed. Unfortunately, as far as England is concerned, it is their absence only that calls for consideration.

If permanence cannot be predicated of the other classes of

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special advantage, still less is it predicable of that arising from the ownership of capital. It cannot, perhaps, be said that capital is, in its nature, exhaustible. Supposing it to be reproductively applied with unerring judgment, and supposing everything to go uniformly right, there is probably no reason why it should not perennially increase. But these are ideal conditions. In practice capital is, and must be, so frequently applied with erring judgment; results so often disappoint the most acute calculations, and it is liable to be destroyed or dissipated by so many accidents, that its ownership, even by a community, must always be more or less precarious.

What, however, is of still greater moment in connection with the question under discussion, capital tends to follow the other conditions of industry, wherever they may be seated. If it is invested commercially, in the purchase of the products of industry, it is invested in the purchase of those products which offer the best prospect of profit, irrespectively of their origin. If it is invested in the work of production itself, it will, with certain qualifications, gravitate towards the industries which promise to be most remunerative.

The use of it is not to be had for nothing by the native manufacturer, any more than by the foreigner, but is at the command of him who can employ it to the greatest advantage, and consequently afford to pay the most for it. Though, therefore, it is of great value, as a source of wealth to the community that owns it, the effect of its ownership on international industrial competition, is less important than might, at first sight, be supposed. Other things being equal, it is, no doubt, at the service of native, on somewhat more favourable terms than of foreign, enterprise, and so far, a community which obtains the capital for its industries at home will, other things being equal, produce at somewhat less cost than one that obtains it from abroad. But the difference will not go far in balancing collateral disadvantages. As far, moreover, as the ordinary operations of industry and commerce are concerned, this advantage comes into play but slightly, as between the more advanced nations of Europe. For such purposes neither France, nor Belgium, nor Germany is under the necessity of paying a high premium for the use of foreign capital, whatever may be the case where extraordinary enterprises of a more than usually speculative character are concerned. Even where the advantage exists, its permanence cannot be depended on, for the remunerative employment of Capital obtained from abroad creates Capital at home by which its place may be ultimately supplied.

As for moral and political advantages, their importance is unquestionably immense. But the essentially precarious

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character of any superiority which one community may possess over another in respect of such conditions, surely stands in no need of either demonstration or comment.

Enough has, I think, been said to show not only that all the more important conditions on which special industrial advantages depend are essentially precarious, but that the course of progress tends naturally to equalise them, and thus to minimise, if not ultimately eliminate, the advantages derived from them. If, therefore, it be true that, under a system of free-trade, the power of a community to maintain a higher standard of living than its competitors depends on the possession of a balance of such advantages, it is further true that a system of free-trade tends, in the long run, to the equalisation of different standards of living among the competing communities, and that a community which starts in the race with a higher standard of living than its rivals, though a preponderance of special advantages may enable it at first to outstrip them in spite of its being thus handicapped, is morally certain to lose in the end.

To pass from generals to particulars, let us see how far the case of England furnishes an illustration of the operation of this law.

When England started on her career of free-trade, she did so under conditions which, regard being had to the immediate future only, amply justified her in the expectation of profiting largely by the result. Her standard of living was, indeed, higher than the standards of living of her neighbours ; but she enjoyed special advantages of such magnitude, that she could reasonably reckon on a margin of comparative profit which would more than cover the difference. She possessed such superior knowledge and skill as to give her a virtual monopoly in the production of certain classes of manufacture, which happened to be in special request. She possessed superior natural resources—notably in the shape of easily workable coal and iron, in mutual proximity—of the very kind most needed for the development of those industries : she enjoyed superlative advantages of geographical position ; she enjoyed great political advantages in the shape of a system of Government conducive to industrial development and of world-wide influence favourable to the disposal of her wares abroad. She possessed special facilities for the transport of those wares, and she was independent of her neighbours in the matter of capital. Under any circumstances, these advantages, while they lasted unimpaired, might have been depended on to keep the balance of gain on her side. But it further happened that the advances of science—advances largely due to her efforts—lent an extraordinary stimulus to the particular branches of industry in which her pre-eminence chiefly lay. The rapid progress of mechanical invention, followed by the substitution

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of machinery for hand-labour; the invention of the steam-engine and its application to machinery and navigation, and subsequently, in the form of the locomotive, to land-traction, with the vast development of railway enterprise throughout the world to which the latter improvement gave birth; the substitution of iron for wood in the construction of ships;—all these causes combined with others to create a phenomenally large, and a prolonged demand for the products of the British forge and workshop. It is not to be wondered at that her leading manufacturers and merchants were too dazzled by the glorious prospect immediately before them to look very far beyond it.

The immediate results amply justified the expectations of the advocates of free-trade. British industry and commerce advanced by leaps and bounds; British wealth steadily accumulated; and, though population largely increased, wages rose, and the general standard of living still further improved.

But after a time, and long before the fact became obvious in its effect on trade, the course of progress which she had been so largely instrumental in promoting, began to detract from the special advantages with which England set out. Little by little other nations became participators in her knowledge, and began to acquire a similar skill. Increased facilities of communication; and the advance of scientific discovery began to diminish the special advantages arising from her mineral resources, while those depending on her geographical position were, to some extent, similarly affected. Other Governments set about devoting legislative effort to the development of native industry. The general, political and commercial progress was attended by a comparative diminution of British influence abroad. With its wider diffusion and the growth of international confidence, the importance of the ownership, as distinguished from the command, of capital as a factor in industrial competition became less and less marked. At the same time the great changes to which I have referred, as having lent a special impetus to some of the most important branches of British industry, gradually worked themselves out.

A stage has at length been reached when it has become not so much a question whether the preponderance of advantages with which England started is diminishing, as whether it has not already so far diminished as to render competition with the foreigner on the old terms no longer possible.

That, as regards most branches of industry, so much of her advantage as depended on the possession of superior knowledge and skill, has already wholly disappeared, is a generally recognised fact. The question that is agitating men's minds at the present moment is, not how she may preserve or recover it, but

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how, in respect of these qualities, she may place herself on a level with the more formidable of her rivals.

After reaching a maximum in 1883, her foreign trade had till within the last few months been slowly, but on the whole, steadily, falling off. There is, moreover, no doubt that the declension had been preceded, as it was accompanied, by a large diminution of the profits on capital invested in industry and trade. Though wages had not, so far, been seriously affected, increasing numbers of her working population were thrown out of employment, and it is evident that the declension could not have gone much further without seriously affecting wages.

That the declension is largely due to increasing foreign competition is admitted on all hands. Whether, taking the entire area of England's industries, her net balance of special advantages has yet fallen to the level at which it ceases to cover the additional cost of her higher standard of living, I will not undertake to say. The probability appears to be that it has about reached that level. For though, as just remarked, wages have not hitherto fallen, we must set against this fact the dearth of employment already mentioned, and the fact that wages have been maintained at the cost of profits.

But whether the diminution of England's special advantages has actually reached the point in question, or whether it has not, the fact remains—and it is this point on which I wish most emphatically to insist—that so far as it has gone, it has taken place in virtue of a law which is still in full force, and under the operation of which it is destined to go still further in the future, in spite of any such temporary revivals of her trade as that which has just taken place. If, in other words, the time has not already arrived when a reduction in the standard of living of her working population has become a necessary condition of her continued competition with foreign nations, it is none the less certain that, in the ordinary course of things, that time must sooner or later arrive, and that, as her balance of advantages still further diminishes, the reduction must proceed *pari passu* with the diminution, until a common level is reached. The acquisition of fresh special advantages in the meantime may retard the process; but, as there is no reason to suppose that these would be more enduring than the old ones, cannot definitively prevent it.

If, on its becoming certain that the scale had turned against her, it were possible for England to avert the threatened degradation by merely undoing what she had done—by throwing free-trade aside, like the skin of an orange out of which she had sucked all the juice,—and reverting to tilth, she might, indeed, embrace repentance with equanimity, and point to the

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wealth she had accumulated as a proof of her past wisdom. But no such cheap road of repentance is open to her.

As was remarked in the earlier part of this article, what may be a wise policy for a people capable, or nearly capable of subsisting on the produce of its own soil, may be impossible for a people largely in excess of the number that can so subsist, and here I come to the second clause of the indictment against free trade, *viz.*, that it has led to the building up of an enormous population upon a basis of sand.

Since the repeal of the Corn Laws, the population of the United Kingdom has increased from something under twenty-seven millions to about thirty-seven millions; and of the additional ten millions, every soul is practically supported by the earnings of foreign trade alone, and could not be fed from the produce of British soil. As, in the absence of the policy which gave England duty-free corn, and the means of buying it, this enormous increase of population would have been impossible, so, without the increase, the progressive development of her trade by which it has been accompanied, would, in its turn, have been impossible.

During the years 1881-84, the average consumption of wheat in the United Kingdom was two hundred and seventeen million bushels, of which only seventy-three million bushels were grown at home, and the remainder, or about two-thirds of the whole, was imported from abroad. During the same period more than a quarter of the total quantity of meat consumed in the United Kingdom was imported from abroad, while of the dairy produce consumed, more than half, and of the eggs more than one-third, are imported.

These figures stand in little need of comment. They mean that at least half the existing population of the United Kingdom are actually dependent, directly or indirectly, on the earnings of foreign trade for the prime necessaries of life. They mean consequently, that any serious falling off in its foreign trade must be attended by wide-spread privation, even if the remaining employment were spread equally over the working population. But they mean much more than this. They mean that, consistently with the existing standard of living, a large proportion of the population of the country could not, in the last resort, be supported by the produce of their own soil.

What quantity of corn could be raised at home in the last resort, there are no data to determine with precision. Indeed, so stated, the question scarcely admits of a determinate answer, for the quantity of corn that can be raised depends upon the range of prices. What, however, is unquestionable, is that, under the existing circumstances of agriculture, no very great increase of the home production of wheat is possible, except

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on condition of a rise of prices, and that, beyond a certain quantity, which may probably be taken as rather under than over a hundred and twenty million bushels—or little more than half what is required for the existing population—no further increase would be possible, except on condition of a progressively disproportionate rise of prices. Now, such being the relation between the number of the existing population and the capabilities of the soil, there is no way in which the position could be ameliorated by a return to a system of protection, as long as that population remains where it is. That is to say, there is no way in which it would be possible to prevent a return to such a policy being attended by a reduction of the general standard of living as great as, if not greater than, that which would result from pursuing the present competition with the foreigner to the bitter end.

England might impose protective duties on foreign manufactured goods, and let things take their course. But the immediate result of this would be a further extensive diminution of her foreign trade. The number of her unemployed would thus, on the one hand, be largely increased, and, on the other hand, her means of purchasing food from abroad would be impaired. At the same time, this state of things would, in itself, have no tendency to increase agricultural production at home, for it would rather depress prices than raise them. In order that home production might be increased, England would have to impose a duty on foreign corn. This would, no doubt, be followed by the absorption of some portion of her surplus labour in agricultural operations: but the number thus absorbed would bear only a small proportion to that thrown out of employment by the decay of her manufactures; while, at the same time, the change would be effected at the cost of a general reduction of the standard of living. She would still have to deal with the "unemployed" difficulty in an aggravated form, and she would have to deal with it with diminished resources. She might, if she pleased, go on and impose higher and yet higher duties upon foreign corn, and so create agricultural employment for further successive fractions of her surplus labour; but, as this would be at the cost of further successive reductions of the general standard of living, it is difficult to see how she would be the gainer at any stage of the process; and as, by and bye, every further extension of the area of cultivation would be conditional on a disproportionate rise of prices, she must, sooner or later, be a heavy loser.

Instead, again, of merely reverting to protection and letting things take their course, she might advance a step in socialistic legislation, and attempt to solve the problem by a forced

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redistribution of property. As the problem to be solved would be not that of feeding idle mouths, but of providing productive labour for unemployed hands, the property redistributed must, in order to touch the root of the evil, be land. Finding the attempt to force on agriculture by a system of progressively increasing protective duties to be a losing game, she might, then, set about compelling it to absorb more hands than it naturally demands, by parcelling out the land in allotments to the unemployed.

I do not enter into the question of the practicability of such a scheme. I do not believe that it would be practicable on the scale that would be required; but, at all events, it is theoretically possible. Can any one imagine that the result would be anything better than an equalisation of general misery? If any one does, let him compare the ratio between population and the land supporting it in any existing country, with a similar climate, in which a system of *petite tenure* prevails, with the ratio which would obtain between population and the land supporting it in the United Kingdom under such conditions; and then, after making due allowance for difference of soil between the two countries, and difference of aptitude between born agriculturists and displaced mechanics, let him take the standard of living of the peasantry of the country selected for comparison, for the third term of the proportion, and work out the result.

Is there, then, no remedy?

I do not assert that there is no remedy, though there is none without present sacrifice. I assert that England is approaching, if she has not already reached, a point beyond which persistence in a policy of free-trade must inevitably lead to progressive deterioration of her standard of living. I assert that, with the subsisting relation between the number of her population and the capabilities of her soil, a return to a protective policy would precipitate, and probably aggravate the calamity, instead of obviating it. I assert, therefore, by implication, that as long as her present surplus population remains where it is, there is no remedy. So long, she stands between the devil and the deep sea.

JAMES W. FURRELL.

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ART. IX.—THE INDIAN POST OFFICE.

THE Indian Post Office, as established and systematised by law, dates from the year of the Queen's accession to the English Throne, a memorable year for the Indian as well as the English Post Office. Mr. Rowland Hill's pamphlet on "Postal Reform," the forerunner of the uniform penny postage of the United Kingdom, was issued in 1837, and in the same year was passed the first Post Office Act in India. Before that there was no general public post in India at all. The Mogul Emperors of Delhi had more or less regular communication by horse and foot lines with their outlying and distant provinces; the Nawab Nazim of Bengal kept up what was called a post between Calcutta and Murshedabad, but it was only for the use of his own family and officers. The East India Company had a few main lines of runners, connecting the principal towns in the interior with the seat of Government; and the landholders of Bengal and other parts of the country, were obliged by Regulations founded on ancient custom, to carry official correspondence between the local police and Magistrates. No private person, however, had any right to have his correspondence carried by any of these official posts, and when any private correspondence was so carried, it was only as a privilege to those concerned, or by the horsemen or runners being bribed. Even before 1837 the authorities of the different Presidencies and British Settlements had, in some cases formed, or attempted to form local public posts, and in the Bombay Presidency all private posts for the carriage of letters and newspapers were suppressed in 1830 by Regulation.

The Act of 1837, however, for the first time, made the carriage of letters for hire in any part of the territories of the East India Company a monopoly of the Government, and thus recognised the right of the public to have their correspondence conveyed by the public post. The organisation and arrangements to give effect to the new law were, however, of a very simple character. The Postmasters of the offices in the presidency towns supervised also the main lines of communication and a few comparatively important offices upon those lines; but, with few exceptions, all the post offices and mail lines were placed in charge of the Collectors of Districts. There were no postage stamps, and the charge, levied in cash for the carriage of a letter, varied according to the distance it was carried. From Calcutta to Bombay the charge was one rupee per tola; from Calcutta to Agra twelve annas.

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The system of independent organisations for the several provinces lasted until 1854, when a new Act was passed which provided for the issue of postage stamps and a uniform rate of postage for the whole of India. In order to give effect to this Act, all the post offices of India were placed under a Director-General, and the organisation of the Indian Post Office, as it now exists, may be said therefore to date from 1854. From that date the increase of ordinary correspondence is but a sign of the progress of the country. If, as is actually the case, for every letter carried by the post office in 1855, 2 were carried in 1865, 4 in 1875, 7 in 1885, and 9 last year, these figures represent, with approximate accuracy, the advance of the country and people in wealth, education, and commerce. A special and marked impetus was given to correspondence in 1879 by the introduction of postcards, the Indian postcard being the cheapest in the world; and the multiplication of post offices throughout the country, and the greater frequency and greater rapidity of mail communication have, no doubt, also had some effect in increasing correspondence. Still, ever since 1854, the minimum rate for a letter to any part of India has been only half an anna, and that rate is too low to have acted as any material check on correspondence. When once the half anna rate of letter postage was introduced, correspondence began to grow rapidly, and what the post office had to do then, was to watch the demands for new offices, more rapid communication, and more frequent deliveries, and endeavour to meet them. In giving facilities for correspondence, the proper position of the post office is to be a close follower of the trade and the schoolmaster, not to attempt to be a pioneer and anticipate the requirements of the public. A soldier or civilian working in the plains may write more often to his wife in the hills if he has a post office or letter box at his door instead of a couple of miles off, and if there is a daily post and delivery, he will write more often than if there is a post only every second day, and in the same way all business correspondence increases with the facilities afforded to it. But a post office is of no use to a group of villages—and there are still thousands of such groups in India—the inhabitants of which cannot read or write, and have no relatives or friends or business outside the group. The post might go every hour, instead of every second day, from Majipara in the Sonthal Pergunnahs. and Kolnagar in Lohardugga to the different gardens in Assam, where villagers of those districts are serving, but it would carry no more letters than at present; and it makes no difference to the father who writes to his son every third year, whether his letter takes four days or a week in transit. So long as the letter arrives at all he is more than

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satisfied. When, however, the need for additional offices and more frequent communication is shown by actual correspondence, it is the duty of the Postal Department to meet it as far as possible. How great the demand has been, and how it has been met, may be seen from the following figures which relate only to the Imperial Postal Department and take no account of the large number of district lines and offices opened and maintained for police and other official purposes, but used also for general correspondence. In 1858 there were 810 post offices and 36,933 miles of mail lines; ten years later the number of post offices was 2,205, and the mileage of mail lines 49,678; ten years later again the number of post offices was 4,107 and the mail lines had increased to 57,963 miles; while in 1888 the number of Imperial post offices was 7,263 and the total length of Imperial mail lines 66,960 miles, of which 14,043 miles consisted of railway lines, 12,483 miles of steamer services, and 40,434 miles of lines over which the mails are carried in mail carts, on horses, or camels, or by country-boats or runners. Adding to the figures just given the number of post offices and number of miles of district lines opened for official purposes, but used also by the general public, the total number of post offices in 1888 was 8,246,* and the total length of mail lines 103,000 miles, or more than four times the circumference of the earth. The number of letter-boxes, in addition to those at post offices, is 11,878, and some 17,000 postmen and village postmen are employed in the delivery of letters and other postal articles. The total number of letters and other articles annually carried and delivered by the post office is 270 millions.

Before any other branches of postal work are mentioned, it will be well to notice a few of the difficulties with which the Indian Postal Department has to deal in its main business of carrying and delivering letters. It is not in India, as in nearly all other countries with an advanced postal system, that there is a network of railway, steamer, and coach lines by which the mails are carried without any trouble to the post office. In spite of the enormous difference of area, more than 1⅓ millions of square miles, as compared with 120,000 square miles, there are fewer miles of railway in India than in the United Kingdom; and out of the 103,000 miles of mail lines in this country, more than 70,000 miles consist of runner lines and country boats which have to be organised and managed entirely by the Postal Department. The vast majority of the lines are worked by runners, and there are single lines of 500 miles and more in length, with 100 stages, and from 5 to 10 runners per stage. The nature of the country and

* The number now is 9,065.

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the character of its seasons, oppose the most serious obstacles to regular and rapid communication. Hardly a rainy season passes but some railway is breached by floods or a railway bridge is broken down ; hardly a dry season passes but the course of some steamer service is stopped for want of water, and the Post Office has to make special arrangements for lines of which it hoped that it was permanently relieved. On runner and boat lines the periodical difficulties are more serious. In a single night embanked roads are washed away and the country for hundreds of square miles becomes an inland sea ; a hill stream, that can be forded in 360 days in the year, becomes in half an hour a raging torrent that an elephant cannot cross ; channels a few yards wide and a few inches deep become rivers a mile broad with a current in which no ferry boat will venture. These are ordinary occurrences in the rainy season. Once in every few years there is a storm-wave or cyclone when exceptional damage is done, and the post office suffers along with the general population ; but if in an ordinary rainy season, only a few mail lines become temporarily impassable, only a few post offices are washed away, and a few mail routes have to be altered owing to changes in the courses of rivers, and there is no permanent interruption of communication, the post office holds itself to be fortunate. At other seasons of the year there are other dangers. Many of the mail lines are mere tracks through the jungle, and even now it is not uncommon for a runner to meet a leopard or a tiger on the road. When there is danger the runners are always provided with lanterns or torches, and are not allowed to travel singly. In the wildest parts the runners are, however, generally very fearless, and many of them look upon the Government mail bag as a talisman. When a family of man-eaters near Hazaribagh had brought a party of English sportsmen into the district, it was with the greatest difficulty that one of them could make a Sonthal runner admit that he might possibly one day be stopped by a tiger. For a long time he would only repeat that the tiger would not stop him ; and finally when he was induced to admit the supposition, and asked what he would do, he said he would go up to the tiger and salaam to him, show him the Government mail that he was carrying, and ask permission to complete his journey. That the tiger would by act or otherwise refuse permission was beyond the limits of the Sonthal's imagination. Then there are highway robberies of the mail, some of the accounts of which as given in the Director-General's reports, read like tales of early English history. Here are three cases as described in the last official report :—

(1.) A mail runner, accompanied by an escort on foot belonging to the Dhrangadra State, was attacked by a band of robbers on the

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night of the 5th November 1887, while on his way to Wadhwan. Both the runner and the escort offered a stout resistance, and the runner was killed on the spot, while the escort was badly wounded. The mail wallet was cut open by the robbers; but there was nothing valuable among the contents, and the entire mail was recovered the next day. The robbers could not be traced, but the Dhrangadra State behaved with great liberality to the widow and relations of the unfortunate runner.

(2.) The mail tonga travelling between Dolia and Rajkot was stopped on the night of the 5th January 1888 by a band of armed dacoits, who fired a volley at it as it came up to the place where they were lying in ambush behind some bushes at the side of the road. There were two passengers in the tonga at the time and an armed police guard. The latter, and one of the passengers were wounded by the first volley, and the mail driver, who did his best to get the tonga away, was disabled by a sword-cut. The robbers then carried away the whole of the mail bags, and divested the passengers of all the property they had with them. Most of the letter mail was afterwards found strewn about a field at some little distance from the place of attack; but the parcel mail was successfully carried away, and a sum of Rs. 11,221 had to be paid on account of the insured parcels in the mail.

(3.) The parcel mail was seized at 7 o'clock in the morning of the day after the previous robbery, a few miles out of Rajkot. The parcel mails are carried by camels from Rajkot to Jamnagar, and a single robber, armed with a double-barrelled rifle and dagger, took possession of the camel and rode off with it. He stopped the camel rider by threatening to shoot him, then pulled the camel on its knees seizing the nose-string, upset the rider, got in his place, and rode away in triumph. A hue-and-cry was at once raised and the robber was pursued and captured.

Nearly all the mail robberies take place in Native States or in newly acquired and unsettled districts. Out of 23 such robberies last year, 10 were in Burmah and 10 in Native States.

The difficulties in the carriage of the mails are however trifles compared with the difficulties in dealing with the articles themselves. The old custom of the country was to send letters by either a special messenger or a friend, and no care was necessary as to the address. If an address was put outside the letter, it was not a definite address, intended to aid delivery, but a long oriental complimentary form, from which the name and residence of the addressee could only be ascertained with much labour and care. In England and other European countries many letters are posted without addresses, but the omission is accidental and arises from hurry or carelessness. In India similar cases often occur, but more frequently the omission is due to the writer not knowing that an address is required at all. On the letters he has sent to his son by the hand of his brother or cousin, he has put no address, and a system by which letters are conveyed by some one without any personal knowledge of the parties is beyond his comprehension. He does not understand in the least that outside the letter should be the name and address of the addressee, with the

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name of the post town from which the letter is to be delivered, and that any thing else mixed up with these particulars endangers or delays the delivery of the letter. The consequence of this ignorance is, that he writes all over his sheet of paper, and then folds or rolls it up just as he would if he were about to give it to his friend to carry to its destination. If someone has told him that the name and residence of the addressee should be written outside the letter, he writes them or gets them written in some form or other ; but he does not understand the object, and it is quite likely that only the first name of the addressee will be given, and that the address will only be the name of a village or the house of some other person well known to the writer. The address will also be written indiscriminately in any corner of the paper where there may be room for it. It was with the object of remedying this evil that it was decided in 1873 to give the public a free envelope for the minimum letter postage rate of half an anna. The annual sale of these envelopes has now reached fifty-seven millions and a half, and the consequent saving of time and labour to the post office is enormous ; but many millions of vernacular letters still pass through the post annually written on country-made paper on both sides and all over, and folded and addressed just as they would have been had they been sent by the hands of friends or relatives. Here are a few translations of quite ordinary addresses :—

(1.) "To my most respected, fortunate, and God-like mother-in-law ; let this letter be placed at the feet of her greatness." Neither the name nor address of the mother-in-law was given, but the name of the son-in-law was inside the cover.

(2.) "To the lotus like feet of my eldest brother, the most fortunate and much to be worshipped Bipin Behari." No address or post town.

(3.) "To the happy Kumadini Baishnabi, at Sibu's house, near Saroda's house." No post town.

(4.) "To the most blessed and fortunate Basi Khan, Calcutta, at Maizuddin's shop."

(5.) "Deliver at Siddeswar Das's house, District Cuttack."

(6.) "To be delivered, with the help of God, to my father's younger brother Chidambora Vadiyar, through Pakkiri, son of Chakkili Nadiyan, who lives in Phayre Road, Rangoon, sent by Vaidyolingam of Akyab."

(7.) "Deliver this letter in Calcutta, at the Howrah side, at the Stone Ghat, to Raghunath."

(8.) "To be received by Golak Chandra Karmokar, sent by Sosi Kumar." No post town or address.

(9.) "To reach Jorawarpur : sent by Gya Lall Kalil and Nanda Lal from Calcutta."

To ascertain the destination of letters with addresses such as these is a matter of the greatest difficulty and labour. The difficulty is also much increased by the multitude of languages

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and characters in ordinary use throughout the country; for, while the English administration of India has not led to the general use of the English language, the one Government throughout the country, the general security to person and property, and the equal and absolute toleration of all races and religions, have resulted in such a diffusion of the population that the residents of each province include immigrants from almost every other province. It is a common thing for a single Indian post office to have to deal with letters addressed in twenty or thirty different characters, and even a small office daily receives letters addressed in five or six different characters.

Another special difficulty of the Indian Post Office is the enormous proportion of unpaid letters, notwithstanding the double charge made for such letters in India as in other countries. The number of such letters annually dealt with is more than twenty-eight millions, and in order to prevent embezzlement, an account has to be kept of the postage due on the letters sent to each office and given to each postman. Germany is the country which next to India has the largest number of unpaid letters, but there the unpaid letters are only 3 per cent. of the paid ones, while in India the proportion is 22½ per cent. In some cases letters are fraudulently sent unpaid, the sender writing what he has to say outside his letter, and the addressee, after reading it, rejecting the letter as not intended for him. In such cases when the post office tries to recover the postage from the sender, it is found that he has either omitted his name or given a false one. These cases of fraud are, however, happily now rare. Most unpaid letters are sent unpaid because the senders think they will thus more surely and speedily reach their destination. As regards the matter of speed, this supposition is entirely wrong; for an unpaid or insufficiently paid letter is ordinarily delayed both in transit and at the office of delivery. This cannot be avoided; as, in order to prevent misappropriation of the postage realised in cash, an account must be kept, and for this purpose unpaid articles must pass through offices and hands that can be trusted. As regards certainty of delivery, too, the supposition is incorrect. The proportion of unpaid letters not delivered far exceeds that of paid letters. When a poor man pays the postage in advance, he takes all the trouble he can so to address his letter that it is likely to reach its destination; when he knows that the postage can only be realised on delivery, he leaves the trouble to the post office, believing in his ignorance that the postmaster and postman are personally interested in obtaining the anna due from the addressee. He does not know that the postmaster and postman are but parts of a system of machinery each of which only works by rule without any personal interest in the result;

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and it seems to him absurd that, when the Government has got all it can get out of a letter, any trouble at all should be taken for its carriage or delivery. Also when, as is often the case in India, the writer of a letter sends his communication without having any knowledge of his friend's address, on the mere chance of the letter finding him, he is no doubt wise in letting the payment depend on the delivery. The trouble and expense of the post office are nothing to the sender; and if, as is probably the case, the letter addressed to Mahomed Khan, Sepoy, Burmah, or Ramcharan, mule-driver, Sikkim, is not delivered, the sender has only lost his sheet of country paper. If by good luck the letter is delivered, it will be Mahomed Khan or Ramcharan, not the sender, who will have to pay the double postage. So much is carelessness in addressing letters encouraged by the system of optional prepayment, and so much difficulty and labour are involved in the recovery of postage on 'bearing' letters, that it is an open question whether both the public and the post office would not gain by the prepayment of at least a portion of the postage being made compulsory in the case of inland letters, as it is in the case of newspapers and printed matter for foreign countries. There is however, some ground for hope that the cheaper rates for paid letters and postcards may ultimately operate to reduce the number of unpaid letters. Thirty years ago the postage on unpaid letters was as much as on paid letters; while now, against 28 millions of unpaid letters, there are 124 millions of paid letters and 76 millions of postcards all of which have the postage necessarily prepaid. But it is the number of paid letters that has risen and not the number of unpaid letters that has fallen. The figure 28 millions is almost as high as it has ever been, and is higher than in countries with five times the correspondence in India.

One of the special privileges given by the Indian Post Office is the right to have letters and other articles redirected free of charge. In the United Kingdom and other countries, an additional charge is made for each redirection of an inland letter. From the enormous number of letters daily redirected, there is no doubt as to the value of the privilege to the public, though very few of those who make use of the privilege realise how great it is, and at what cost of time and labour it is given. Not only is the privilege not fully appreciated by the public; but, if a postmaster is unable to interpret satisfactorily the vague and conflicting instructions that he often receives, the Post Office is at once subjected to reproach. Moreover the nature of the privilege is constantly misunderstood, and it is supposed by many to extend to the redirection of letters in transit instead of only to redirections at the post town of address. Ladies and gentlemen, who would think themselves insane if they wrote to

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the Postmaster-General or Secretary to the General Post Office at home to intercept in the train a letter for Elgin and deliver it at Oxford, do not hesitate to make similar requests in India. In India, as in other countries, letters ordinarily travel in bulk from one travelling or sorting post office to another; and it is only as the letters approach their destinations that they are placed in separate bags for the different post offices of address. The eye of a skilful sorter sees only the post town on an envelope, not the name of the addressee. If names had to be read as well as post towns, twice the present staff could not do the work in the time allowed; while, if the redirection of letters in transit were permitted, no human memory could retain the names of those who would wish to have their letters intercepted and redirected. A reference to an alphabetical list of changed addresses would be necessary as each letter was handled, and the work of the post office would be practically at a standstill.

The rate of postage for newspapers, like that for letters and postcards, is lower in India than in England, notwithstanding the enormous difference between the average distances to be traversed in the two countries. The rate for any registered newspaper in the United Kingdom is a half-penny, and in India the rate for any newspaper not above ten tolas in weight is half an anna, the present equivalent of a half-penny. In 1881, however, a lower rate of one pice was fixed for newspapers not above three tolas in weight when postage for three months is paid in advance. Nearly all the vernacular newspapers have adopted the system of prepayment, called the privileged system, and since its introduction there has been an enormous increase in the number of cheap newspapers circulated through the post. The number rose from under twelve millions in 1880-81 to nearly twenty-two millions in 1887-88, and there can be no doubt that many of the vernacular papers, with a small circulation, are dependent for their existence on the one pice rate of postage. The payment of postage for a quarter in advance also carries certain special privileges besides the reduction of postage to half the ordinary rate. Copies sent to the publishers of other newspapers in exchange for their papers are carried free, and no addition to the amount paid in advance is made for any ordinary variation during the quarter in the number of copies posted per issue. In the same way no refund is made of any part of the amount prepaid for the quarter even if the copies actually posted fall short of the number paid for; but, as may be imagined, the profit is not generally to the Post Office. The opponent of the National Congress and the spread of education in India, who thinks it possible for governments to stop the motion of the world, may be disposed to blame the

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Post Office for the facilities it has given to a cheap vernacular press not always of the highest character. If so, let him console himself with the facts that in his own country, with one seventh of the population of India, there are more than seven times as many newspapers carried by the Post Office, and that the twenty-two millions of newspapers now annually sent through the post in India must rise to over a thousand millions before the press will have a circulation corresponding to that which it has at home.

The unregistered book and pattern post carries about six and a half millions of articles annually at a rate of half an anna for ten tolas or rather less than half the English rate. The pattern post, both here and in England, was intended solely for trade patterns or samples of merchandise, but numerous practical difficulties have been experienced in giving effect to this intention. In the United Kingdom the rules are very strict: "No article sent for sale or in execution of an order or sent by a private individual" is under any circumstances admissible; and if any such packet is sent by pattern post, it is charged with double the deficient postage at the letter rate, together with a fine of sixpence. The name, address and trade of the sender must also be printed on the wrapper. In India the rules are not quite so strict, and recently they have been relaxed so as to allow patterns sent by a private individual to a tradesman, as a sample of an article wanted or for measurement, to travel at the low rates of the pattern post. Book packets, like pattern packets, must be packed in such a way that they can be readily examined or withdrawn for examination. It is, of course, not possible for the post office to examine carefully all the book packets that pass through the post; but it has been found in India, as in other countries, that the transmission of letters in book packets can only be prevented by a frequent examination of a large proportion of the packets posted, and by the enforcement of the penalties prescribed for breaches of the rules. Public morality in these matters is not very high, and the Post Office, like a Railway Company, is looked upon by a large class of persons as fair game for fraud. It is only charitable to suppose that a large proportion of the letters carefully folded inside newspapers and book packets are placed there in ignorance of the rules; but ignorance can hardly cover the endorsement 'Printed matter only,' in English or the vernacular, sometimes found on the covers of such packets.

In a country in which distances are so great as in India, the inconvenience and delay caused by the miscarriage of an important letter is necessarily far greater than in the United Kingdom or most other countries. For this reason, as well as

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because of the difficulties of transit and delivery, the registered post is one of the most important features of the Indian inland post office. Nearly five millions of registered letters are annually posted in India, so that one out of every twenty-eight paid letters is registered as compared with one out of every one hundred and forty in the United Kingdom. From the time of posting to that of delivery, a registered letter passes from hand to hand under signatures; and, speaking broadly, a registered letter cannot be lost or stolen in the Post Office without the person responsible being detected. The Indian fee for registration (two annas) is practically the same as the English fee (two pence); but there is no arrangement, in the English registration system, similar to that under which, in India, an acknowledgment signed by the addressee can be obtained by the sender on payment of an additional anna.

The Parcel Post is the last branch of postal business, properly so called, that can be noticed here. It was not until 1883 that a parcel post was introduced in the United Kingdom, but the need for such a post had been felt and met in India nearly half a century before them. The rate charged for articles sent by parcel post or 'banghy dâk,' as the system was generally called, varied with the distance up to the year 1870, when a uniform rate of parcel postage was introduced. The rate is high, especially for parcels which have not very far to travel, but the limit of weight is extremely liberal. In the United Kingdom a parcel may not exceed 11 lbs.; in India any parcel not exceeding 25 seers or 51 lbs. is accepted. Ten years before the introduction of the parcel post in England, an arrangement was made by the Indian Post Office for the carriage of parcels between India and England, the Peninsular and Oriental Company undertaking the receipt and despatch of the parcels in England. Now the work in England is done by the British Post Office so far as parcels not above 11 lbs. in weight are concerned, but the help of the Peninsular and Oriental Company is still necessary as an agency for heavy parcels to and from India. The number of parcels carried between India and the United Kingdom by parcel post is now 145,000 per annum. The number of parcels carried annually by parcel post in India is more than 1½ millions.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to treat at any length of the various branches of business (other than purely postal work) that have at different times been managed by the Post Office or are now conducted by it. Formerly the Post Office was the agency employed to lay out palanquins and bearers for travellers, to manage the staging bungalows scattered all over the country, and to arrange for the carriage of goods by trains of bullock carts. The Postal Department still manages the

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bullock train and passenger service between Umballa and Simla, and a few branch lines of bullock trains to the neighbouring hill stations; but it has no connection with the arrangements for passengers and goods on the numerous other horse and carriage services used, under contracts, for the conveyance of mails. The non-postal branches of post office business are now of an entirely different character, and although they are of great and increasing importance, it is impossible here to do more than briefly summarise their principal features.

First, there is the Money Order system. The Indian Money Order is one of the most convenient in the world. The remitter has to do nothing but to send or take to the nearest post office the Money Order form and the amount to be remitted with a commission of one per cent. Everything else is done by the post office. The remitter receives a receipt for his money from the post office; the amount remitted is paid to the payee at his own house at the address given by the remitter; along with the money there is delivered to the payee, a coupon on which the remitter has written the object of his remittance or anything else he wished to communicate; and finally the post office returns to the remitter, and delivers to him at his house, an acknowledgment for the amount sent signed by the payee himself. Out of the 9,065 post offices in India, all except about 300 are authorised to issue and pay money orders. The total number of money orders issued yearly is more than 5½ millions, and their value about twelve crores of rupees. It is only since 1880 that the Post Office has undertaken this class of business. Before then money orders were issued and paid by the different Government treasuries, and in the year before the post office undertook the work, the number of money orders was less than a quarter of a million and their value less than 90 lakhs of rupees. Connected with and part of the Money Order Branch of the Post Office is the Telegraphic Money Order system under which the telegraph is used, as far as practicable, to advise the office of payment and expedite the remittance. The benefits of this system can, of course, only be fully obtained when both the remitter and payee live at stations where there are telegraph offices, but even in other cases, remittances can often be hastened by several days. This system, which has not yet been introduced in the United Kingdom, and was only started in India in 1884, is rapidly becoming popular; and about 5,000 telegraphic money orders for nearly 5 lakhs of rupees are now issued and paid every month. The money order system is also now being used in different parts of the country for the remittance of land revenue and other Government dues, and the payment of rent by ryots. Where these extensions of

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the system have taken place, the zamindar need no longer go or send his agent to the Collectorate, perhaps 50 miles distant, to pay his land revenue in person. The zamindar, like the planter or merchant who wishes to pay his income-tax or road-cess, has only to ask for the appropriate form from the nearest post office, and to send what is due by money-order, while a different but similar form enables the ryot to pay his rent without personal attendance on the landlord's agent or at the landlord's office. The licensees of liquor and drug shops also pay in their monthly fees by money orders.

Then there are the 6,200 Postal Savings Banks with their 300,000 depositors; the Value Payable Post, which although unknown in England is too well known and appreciated in India to need any description; the system of insurance by which the post office, for a fee of four annas per hundred rupees, undertakes to insure to any amount the letters and parcels entrusted to it, and does annually insure articles to the amount of some 7¾ crores of rupees; the Government Security Agency, by which the Post Office Savings Banks undertake for their depositors the purchase and sale of Government Securities for small amounts; and other minor branches of business, such as the sale of all kinds of stamps, which cannot even be mentioned here. There are, however, two recent extensions of post office work which deserve special notice. The first is the Postal Telegraph system, under which most of the Government telegraph offices are now combined with post offices worked by postal servants, while every other post office in the country has been made a receiving office for inland telegrams which are sent by post to the nearest telegraph office. This system was only started in 1884, but the result has already been to raise the number of Government Telegraph offices from 318 to 745, out of which 486 are worked by the post office. The number of messages sent from, and received at the Postal Telegraph offices during the year 1887-88, was nearly 1,200,000. The other extension of post office work referred to is the scheme of Life Insurance and Annuities under which post office employés, since 1884, and Telegraph employés recently, have been allowed to insure their lives and purchase immediate or deferred monthly allowances through the agency of the post office and under Government security. The scheme in its present form is of no concern to the general public. It is of interest and importance only, because there is a somewhat similar scheme open to the public in the United Kingdom, and an extension of the experiment in India, in the distant if not the near future, may therefore be contemplated. The absence of trustworthy life statistics

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of the general population is but one out of many obstacles to any such general scheme in India; but, judging from the popularity of the Post Office Savings Banks, the strength of family affection among most of the races of India, and the anxiety of all classes to provide for their relatives, it cannot be doubted that, if it should hereafter be found possible to introduce a system of Postal Life Insurance and Annuities open to the public, the scheme would be extremely popular and widely used.

The work of the post office, its 9,065 offices, and its 103,000 miles of mail lines, necessarily require a large establishment and elaborate organisation. First there is the Director-General, the head of the Department, who conducts all negotiations with foreign postal administrations, supervises and controls the whole postal administration of the country, and prescribes in detail the working rules of each branch of the service, those rules being necessarily the same for the whole of India. For the control and reconciliation of the accounts of the whole Department, there is a special account officer called the Comptroller of the Post Office. The Travelling post officers who sort articles in the railway vans are under the Inspector-General of the Railway Mail Service; while, for the administration of the Department in the several provinces, and the organisation and supervision of post offices and mail lines other than those on railways, the whole of India is divided into fourteen postal circles, five of which are under Postmasters-General and nine under Deputy Postmasters-General. The supervising staff under these officers consists of some 380 Superintendents, Assistant Superintendents, and Inspectors. About 14,000 men are employed as postmasters and post office clerks, while the number of postmen and village postmen is about 17,000. Besides these, there is a whole army of overseers, boatmen and runners employed on the 72,000 miles of imperial and district boat and runner lines.

The published accounts of the revenue and expenditure of the Post Office show each year a considerable deficit; but on the other hand the Post Office performs services for other departments of the State for which it is either inadequately remunerated or not remunerated at all. There would be no real advantage but only a complication of accounts if the Post Office received or was credited with the exact money value of each of its services to the State; but taking these services into consideration, as it is recognised that the Post Office is entitled to do, the Department, on the whole, already pays its way; and this result has been gained notwithstanding, or perhaps it might be said because of, the low rates of postage and other postal charges.

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What the future of the Indian Post Office will be it is difficult to conjecture. The British administration has brought from the west a postal system of the most advanced character, and signs are not wanting that it is fully appreciated by the educated classes, and appreciated, so far as their needs go, by even the poorest and most ignorant. When education and enterprise have advanced in India to the points they have reached in England, for every letter now carried by the Indian Post Office there will be 50 letters; for every newspaper and book, 133 newspapers and books; and for every parcel, 160 parcels; and this would be if the population stood still instead of increasing as it does, and will increase. The number of post offices in those days will be 180,000 instead of 9,000; the yearly money-order business will be 380 crores instead of 11¾ crores, and the balance in the Post Office Savings Banks 560 crores instead of 5¾ crores. For a Post Office with such transactions the history of the world affords no precedent.

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ART. X.—CAMEOS OF INDIAN DISTRICTS.

II.—Balasore and Cuttack.

IF any one imagines that he is going to get *useful* information from this paper, he had better go on to the next. Statistics will be carefully avoided. Are they not written in Hunter and revised by O'Donnell? Wherefore, then, should an ordinary individual rush in with statistical crudities evolved from an unstatistical brain? I shall try and represent the two districts in which the later years of my service have been spent as they presented themselves to me; and if I succeed in interesting any one in Orissa, I shall have been rewarded.

Orissa is a *terra incognita* to all but those whom Service duties have sent there, or whose business has taken them thither; yet it is a place which, he who goes to, does not wish to leave. I am writing this paper on the 21st April in a temperature of 85°, a delicious breeze blowing in from the sea, punkahs being unknown. The place is called Hookey Tollah, and it got its name under the following circumstances: The port of False Point used formerly to be located at the light-house, a distance of some 8 miles from the anchorage. This was found to be very inconvenient, and a station was started on Plowden's Island; which after the expenditure of same 10,000 rupees, was found equally inconvenient. A new site was fixed upon, and a merry party came down from Cuttack to start the settlement. Amongst them was one whose name and fame have not yet died out of Cuttack. He was called Walker, and was an Engineer.

Casting about for a name for the place, some one called out "Hullo, Hookey; what shall we call this place?" An Hon'ble Judge of the High Court may remember saying—"Why, that's the name for it. Call it Hookey, Tollah" and so it is called even unto this day. It is spelt officially "Huki Tallah," a lovely and speaking commentary on Hunterian spelling.

I was unexpectedly ordered to Balasore, and on a fine January morning took shipping by the good ship "Bassein" on my way to a part of the country hitherto unknown to me. On the evening of the same day we sighted a low line of hills, with which I was destined subsequently to be well acquainted, and dropped anchor for the night in what is known as the Balasore Roads. Three or four large sailing ships lay at anchor near us, and a crowd of country cargo boats was making its way into the river. In the early morning we were

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put on board a steam launch and were sent up the Barabolong (the great twisting) river. Mark Twain describes the street, which in the Acts of the Apostles is *called* strait, as being crookeder than a rainbow, but a little straighter than a corkscrew. The Barabolong, however, is crookeder than any crokscrew yet invented. The sea, as the crow flies, is about 5 miles from Balasore; yet to reach the sea by the river requires a sail of 19 miles. The river is, I should say, about as tortuous as any in the world.

When arriving at Balasore after being in an Eastern Bengal district, the first thing that strikes one is the grand capacity there is for drainage. Going to the Civil Station is a constant move upwards, and when you reach the station, it is unlike any other in the Lower Provinces with which I am acquainted, and I have seen a good number. There is a brightness and a European air about the place unlike most Indian stations. In the first place, Balasore is a perfect paradise to a gardener: roses, pansies, and every variety of flower seem to thrive, and to every house is attached a well kept flower garden. In driving up to the Collector's house, therefore, one passes through a well drained clean bazaar, (thanks to the Civil Surgeon who is at the helm of the Municipality) and past one or two pretty compounds filled with every variety of flowers. A feeling of contentment with one's lot comes over one at the first glimpse of Balasore, more especially if you have had a series of nice malarial districts like Dinagepore, Jessore and Pubna. A further acquaintance with the place and the district does not tend to remove the favourable impression conveyed at first sight. The town is, as I have said, beautifully clean: would that all Municipalities were like it! There is a most interesting old cemetery, and remains of early Dutch settlers. Moreover one can travel on the continent there without much expense, for part of Balasore is French territory, and there are enacted the horrors of hook-swinging and other gentle sports, which British tyranny has driven from British Indian territory. Thence, too, can the placid out-still proprietor smuggle his wares into the regions dominated by the excise department of the Board of Revenue.

Balasore has as yet no town hall, is not interested in the Congress, and beyond, of course, a few school boys and young Bengal foreigners, has not produced any patriot dying to restore the liberties of the people. There is a very strong Mahommedan community in the place, and a movement has been set on foot to improve the status of that community. The movement has developed that *trop de zèle* which is fatal to most undertakings, and has injured its object by putting claims before the Lieutenant-Governor on his recent visit

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which were founded in the imaginations of their promulgators. These men asserted that Sir Rivers Thompson had promised Orissa Mahomedans a certain number of public appointments, and asked Sir Steuart Bayley to carry out that promise. The statement needs only to be written to carry its own refutation, and it is a pity that the Mahommedan community, who began a good work by founding scholarships in the Zillah school, should have spoilt their cause by mis-stating facts. They ought to take up a new position; educate the coming generation to cope with the Bengalis, and not to expect that the present generation can ever succeed in the battle of life against the Hindus, who have seized the educational advantages which the Mahomedans have let drift past them. I am glad to say that a movement has been started, and scholarships have been founded for Mahomedan education, and I trust the movement will spread. The improvement of the Mahomedan community in Orissa must take a start from amongst themselves, and must be founded on the idea, that they have got to educate themselves to an intellectual par with the Bengali. Extraneous gifts of appointments, even if such could be given, are like other forms of pauperization—demoralizing to the people who accept them. There are some very highly educated Mahomedan gentlemen in the Province, and if they will only put their shoulders to the wheel and start the coach in the right direction, they would, I am sure, receive the cordial co-operation of all Government officials and of Government itself.

The work of the Collector of Balasore (as indeed is that of all Orissa Collectors) is wonderfully diversified. He has, of course, the ordinary duties of a Magistrate and Collector, which range from the Baptism of Infants to the Burial of the Dead, Marriage being thrown in, and the Churching of Women the only service of the Church left out. Added to these he is Assistant Superintendent of the Tributary Mehals in Balasore. This gives him the privilege of wearing a political uniform and being photographed therein. The photo, conveys an exalted idea of the man to his friends at home, and the uniform must be the pleasantest part of the business. The duty, however, of hanging an occasional "Kol" is not so nice. There is one consolation, however, in connexion with the judicial part of the work, and that is that appeals go the Lieutenant-Governor and not to the High Court.

A cameo of Balasore would be incomplete without some anecdotes connected with the judicial side of the Collector's work. I myself tried a man for murder, and he calmly confessed the crime, saying that the victim had bewitched his children. In another case two men were hanged for murder

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under the following circumstances: A young Kol girl got married to a man who was like Nabal, a churlish man, one not forward in giving dinner parties, and a perfect duffer socially. The lady and her father repented them of the match, and a young Lochinvar was forthcoming. The father and the lady were both willing that she should wed the new suitor, but there was the husband, and the Kols are very particular about marriage regulations. A meeting of the friends of the bride and her people was called, and in the course of conversation, the obvious solution of the difficulty was propounded :—"Why not kill the husband?" So two strangers were hired for the trifling consideration of 20 seers of rice and Rs. 10 to put every thing straight. They, as they described it, came across the unfortunate husband sleeping on a rock, and in a second compressed his neck and throat so that he died. They were hanged. They did not mind that much, but, in death they remembered with pain that they had been swindled out of the price for which they bargained to do the deed, and only got the earnest money in the shape of ten seers of rice. Another case occurred just before I joined the district: In it a member of the medical profession was murdered under these circumstances detailed by the accused; "I had fever and called in the kobiraj. He told me to get him a white goat and a black cock and also to pay him Rs. 2. I procured the white goat and the black cock and gave him the two rupees. He then began his incantation, but as he got on with them my fever got worse, *so* I cut his head off." This occurred at Nilgiri; I mention the place as there is an opening for a medical man there now, and I have been persecuted lately by failed and passed students for quasi-medical appointments under the Puri Lodging House Act.

But it is time to doff the political uniform and don that of the mariner. The Collector of Balasore has "to Shiver his timbers," "Splice the main brace," and cry "What cheer my hearty?", when the plain-spoken, but somewhat intoxicated mariner comes into his verandah to complain that his clearance papers are not all right, that his cook has got drunk, or that the buoys in the Roads have not been placed "synonymous with their true position" as I have heard it described. I had one amusing case of a sailor whom I fined with the usual alternative of imprisonment. He enquired when the next steamer left for Calcutta, and finding that one left the day after he would get out of jail, he cheerfully elected to undergo the imprisonment rather than remain "on that bloomin' ship tossed about in them their bloomin Roads." He was a glutton for work, and begged to be allowed to work with the ordinary prisoners: his outturn has seriously congested the jail coir market in Balasore.

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I have of course had my cyclones : one in each district. On the 26th May 1887, I got a notice that a cyclone was under way. I sent the notice round the station and people took action against the coming storm. We disregarded the signs of the weather, for as yet I had no practical working knowledge of cyclonic effects in my head, and was very busy that day. Ethnology or Hunter, or at any rate "*some* work of noble note" engrossed my mind. It was raining and blowing fitfully. The people who usually came to tennis, came and sat in our verandah ; all thoughts of the cyclone, as likely to personally interest us, had passed away. We thought it would be in the bay somewhere, and troubled ourselves but little about it. At about 4 A. M., when we were all huddled together in the only dry room in the house, in momentary expectation of the top story descending, we realized what an Orissa cyclone was like.

That was the cyclone in which the "Sir John Lawrence" went down. I am glad to say that it was not without its modicum of good to the Province.

Immediately after the storm I started down to the South of the district until I came to Chandbally. The sights I saw there were calculated to shock any one : dead bodies lying any where and any how; a miserable hut, with an ignorant dresser and but a scant supply of medicines, forming the only medical aid for thousands of pilgrims and not a few permanent residents ; and finally, pilgrims huddled all over the place without shelter and means of observing decency. I went up there last March and the change was marvellous. The Puri Lodging Act has been introduced, a regular gang of sweepers taken on, and a neat hospital with proper instruments, furniture, and a duly qualified man as doctor. The Hospital is moreover endowed so as to ensure a Government grant-in-aid. All these have displaced the former chaotic condition of Chandbally.

Whilst on this topic it is as well to give a history of this interesting little port Some 20 years ago it was unknown. At that time a Mr. McNeil, seeing the necessity for a port in Orissa, came down to prospect one. He fixed upon Chandbally, and the hull of the first steamer which ever traded to Chandbally, the "Celt," originally a pleasure boat on the Clyde, now forms a hulk for one of the large steamers. This erstwhile wretched fishing village, when Sir Steuart Bayley landed in November, boasted three large steamers at anchor and a civil station with the usual buildings. The extraordinary feature of Chandbally is, that on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday mornings the port is full of bustle and stir. For the rest of the week it might be a city of the dead for all

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the life there is in it. The reason of this is that the steamers all run on the same day. One naturally asked what the reason of this was, and I was told of a curious superstition. The Oorya will not, if he can help it, set out on a pilgrimage by sea on any day but Wednesday. Hence the steamers must leave Calcutta all together on that day and return all together from Chandbally. Off the sea face of Chandbally there is an island called Short's Island. I don't know who Short was; but the island now boasts a light-house. It was about in the centre of the cyclone, and was then in process of construction. All the working plant,—boats and everything that was not so permanently attached to the earth as to resist the fury of the wind—was swept sway.

The light-house is now finished, and it will scarcely be believed, that the Calcutta Port authorities keep two men there and absolutely refuse a boat to the light-house. Some time ago one of these men felt annoyed with his comrade and expressed his feelings by threatening to shoot him. The threatened man had not much cover, so his life was diversified and exciting until the shootist was removed. Light-house life is, as a rule, monotonous, and it is considerate on the part of the Port authorities to afford variety to this otherwise dull existence by ensuring that escape, even from a dangerous lunatic, is impossible unless you shoot the lunatic first. This might suggest a question for the next examination of Assistants.

Balasore boasts of both of Wordsworth's "two voices"—

> "One is of the sea
> One of the mountains, each a mighty voice."

The town of Balasore itself is enclosed on the land face by a chain of tolerably high hills. The Nilgiri range stretching away to the South and to the N.W, losing itself in the Mohurbung range. The Nilgiri Rajah's palace—if a tumble down collection of buildings can be dignified by the name—is situated at the base of a beautifully wooded hill abounding with game of all kinds. A peculiar kind of a blue stone is dug out of this hill and fashioned into plates, drinking vessels, &c. A considerable export trade in these articles takes place, and I would commend them to any one for use as butter coolers, water jugs, &c. Nilgiri is under European management, and is gradually developing. The forests there bid fair to become very valuable, now that some attempt is being made to prevent a reckless destruction of timber. It is singular that a place like Nilgiri has attracted the attention of sportsmen to so small an extent.

For years past the Collectors of Balasore have not been lovers of the chase, and an almost virgin jungle is within a few hours ride of the Collector's house, utterly thrown away from a sportsman's point of view.

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The other Tributary Mehal marching with Balasore is that of Moyurbhunj. This is an immense territory with much traditionary history, but hardly anything that I could find, in the way of *MSS.*, by which it might be compiled.

Driving out from Balasore you cross the Barabolong river and find yourself on a metalled road. This road goes the whole way to Baripada, the capital of the Raj, a distance of some 35 miles. After a short time you come to low tree jungle gradually increasing in density until it assumes forest proportions. As the jungle increases in density, the road becomes more and more undulating, until at last one could imagine oneself amongst the Irish hills; and the old sensation of getting out to give the horse a breather up the hill comes back with refreshing memories to one who has just quitted the wild romantic scenery of Jessore or Pubna.

Baripada is quite a model little town, beautifully clean and well kept. The State is under the management of a European gentleman with the ideas of discipline and order which are part of the very nature of a soldier. The old Rajbarees is like all Rajbarees. Cows are allowed to go and come with the same freedom with which the "gentleman that pays the rint" does in Ireland. Of course this is beyond the manager's control, and the little town, and the Rajbarees in its midst, are striking examples of the old order and the new. The present Rajah who is being educated as an English gentleman in Cuttack, is having built for himself a house more suited to his tastes and habits. He is one of the rare instances in which a native gentleman conforms to the religion of his fathers, and at the same time has acquired those manly and refined tastes which make him welcome in any society. Moyurbhunj is a principality with a great future before it. It is being gradually opened up by roads, and parts of it have been resettled. It will, with time and good management, become one of the richest estates, or the richest in Orissa. There is no doubt of the existence of iron in parts of the estate, for it is worked in a rough way in a place called Bamunghatta, and there is also no doubt of the existence of gold: it remains to be seen in what quantities. At present the natives wash it out of the river sand after infinitesimal trouble, and with results equally infinitesimal. But apart from metals, the forests of Moyurbhunj will in themselves be a powerful source of income. What Moyurbhunj requires to develope this industry, is a saw mill erected at Baripada, and a tramway to connect it with Balasore and the outer world. The latter, with the already existing road, would not be a matter of ruinous expense, and in the way of developing the resources of the State, would pay beyond all proportion to its cost. The silk industry is another form of commerce which is in its infancy in Moyurbhunj, but is capable

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of great development. As it is, traders buy up cocoons in the district and take them to Rajshaye. Considering how little care is at present given by the peasantry to the rearing of cocoons, the trade is assuming very fair proportions, and a little more attention given to it would make silk a very important factor in the revenues of Moyurbhunj. Every thing, however, cannot be done in a day, and the great matter now is to open up the country by roads. Undeveloped means of communication often make a year of great plenty only one degree better for a district than a year of scarcity.

For the rest Moyurbhunj abounds in lovely scenery. It has the advantage of Nilgiri in having water to set off the mountain scenery. In the midst of the mountains there towers one peak, Megasni. This, I am told, boasts an even temperature of 75° during the year. It is very difficult to get at, but otherwise would have been a perfect sanitarium for Orissa. It is almost too late now to hope for its ever being so utilized. Steam has brought the Nilghiris and Darjeeling within comparatively easy distance of Orissa, but it seems a pity to see a possible health resort like Megasni wasting its sweetness on the desert air.

Moyurbhunj, like Nilgiri, is the home of the wild beast. Bears are particularly destructive. I was shown a case in which one side of a man's face was completely obliterated, just as though it had been planed down. A slight depression marked where his eye had been, but otherwise his face was perfectly smooth. Minor injuries are quite common. Moyurbhunj, too, is a place where two or three ardent sportsmen might have a happy cold weather. In this connexion I had almost forgotten to mention the magnificent collection of ivory there is at Baripada,—all the product of the Moyurbhunj jungles. Proposals were made some time ago to establish a kheddah there, but they had not come to maturity when I left the district. There is no doubt ample room for kheddah operations in the hills and forests of the State. The future of Moyurbhunj is one to be watched with great interest. It has, despite the protests of the native and semi-native press, had the advantage of some years of excellent management. It will come into the hands of a Rajah educated in Western ideas of civilization, and without that horror of modern improvements which so frequently causes years of good management to go for nothing in estates in this country. It is a State full of resources naturally, and can be made eventually a model for the other Tributary Mehals in Orissa. Every rupee spent now in developing communications will yield a tenfold harvest, and it is to be hoped that the beginning made in this direction will be pushed on until the country is opened.

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Nothing could illustrate the changes which time bring about in the fortunes of a place so forcibly as the decline in the sea-borne trade of the Balasore district. There were formerly seven custom houses in that district; now there are but three. This falling off is caused by the gradual silting up of the rivers.

I fear that one of these usually busy haunts of the mariner was closed owing to my action. It occurred in this wise: I happened in the cold weather of 1887 to be camping some distance from the sea, and came across a pretty little inland village, one which if you did not know—the sea was about seven miles off—you would not in any way associate with things maritime. An air of pastoral simplicity pervaded the place. There was not even a grog shop at which the mariner could indulge in a tot, whilst cursing the decadence of the Balasore mercantile marine.

In the midst of this peaceful and rural village, I saw what I thought was a comfortable farm house, nicely hedged in, and looking as unlike anything connected with those that go down to the sea in ships as could possibly be imagined. I asked whose house that was, and to my astonishment was informed it was the Custom House! I had been searching for the Custom House where one might have expected to have found it, near the sea; but had failed to find it. Judge of my astonishment to unearth it in an out-of-the-way village in the interior. It was the old story. A river or arm of the sea many years ago used to run up to this village, of which not a trace now remains save a depression near the "Custom House," and that institution was founded in the good old trading days. The beauty of the whole arrangement was that the Custom House officer had steadily been drawing his pay and submitting blank returns with a regularity that never drew attention to his existence. He was cunning enough never to allow a return to be a day overdue. He had a stock of forms which would have lasted for the term of his official existence, so stamps and stationery knew him not, nor was he of sufficient importance to be asked for an opinion on any question which might vex the souls of the Brethren of Trinity House or the Board of Trade. Any communications he might have got were such as a list of copyright works, or matter equally valuable and interesting. They were sent merely for his information and guidance. He probably digested the information, and then went and guided his plough. That custom house and its establishment have now been relegated to the limbo of all abolished things. It is greatly to be feared that Balasore will share the fate of the Subanreka and other ports. Year by year the river is silting up, and whereas, when I first went to Balasore

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the steamer used to lie abreast the town, it is difficult, if not impossible to get within 5 miles of the port. In a few years the trade will be limited to the sea-going ships on the Roads.

In the opinion of some, the sea-coast canal recently opened will compensate for the loss of sea-borne traffic. I never held this opinion, and never could work myself up to a pitch of enthusiasm regarding this great work: I was in a minority, but the minority was a respectable one. My opinion of its utility, when compared with the enomous cost which it has involved, has not been strengthened by recent experience of Cuttack, and by discussions on the railway schemes which I have recently heard. It is admitted, of course, that the coast canal is useless for irrigation. To pay the interest therefore on the 33 lacs originally estimated as the cost (how far exceeded I am not in a position to say) and to pay the heavy current expenditure, the coast canal must depend on passengers and goods. With regard to passenger traffic the canal opened under most favourable auspices. The loss of the "Sir John Lawrence," the "Arcot" and the "Maharatha" were, as it were, a vast sacrifice to Kali for the success of the new venture. I do not think I am wrong in saying that the passenger traffic, *viâ* the coast canal, has not materially or even perceptibly affected the Chandbally sea route, and it is admitted that the passenger trade has not been disappointing. Giving, however, all the passenger traffic to the canal, it would take a very strong trade in pilgrims to make the coast canal pay without the help of a very material proportion of the goods traffic from Cuttack, Balasore and Puri. This, as long as the tendency of the rice trade lies in the direction in which it has lain for years, the coast canal will never secure. The export trade from Balasore and Cuttack points steadily in one direction, that is, to the South. The Mauritius, Cochin and Coast Ports take nearly every available bag of rice out of the place. Let prices be ever so high in Cuttack—and they have been high within the last year—there is still a steady drain towards the South, only checked by scanty production. I at one time interviewed the leading merchants here on the subject, and the result at which I arrived was, that their trade with the Mauritius and the Coast is so firmly established, that it would take a very great inducement to divert even a portion of it. Again, in discussing the railway question, most men are agreed that a line from Sumbulpore to Cuttack is the one which carries most indications of success as far as traffic goes. Is this opening out of the country supposed by most men to be for the purpose of sending rice to the Hooghly? Far from it. The idea is that, with Cuttack connected by the Jumbu Canal directly with False Point and by the Taldunda Canal with the Bakood Creek, and

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thence with False Point, the Sumbulpore rice will he shipped at Cuttack in boats which will discharge their cargoes on board of ships bound from False Point to the South or the West, but not into the godowns on the banks of the Hooghly. These Cuttack canals, too, have the strong support of irrigation leases to back their traffic, and are not depending on passenger and goods traffic only. The direction in which money could now be spent with the greatest hope of a profit, is in the construction of the Sumbulpore-Cuttack railway, and the dredging of False Point harbour. False Point is, as has been truly said, a lee shore for a great part of the year. It could be made one of the finest harbours in India. The natural outlet for the produce of Orissa is the sea, and it can never be diverted by artificial means to a port like Calcutta, especially when canal dues are added to the already heavy port dues prevailing on the Hooghly. Calcutta of course governs everything, and it was thought that there was something magical in the idea of opening a direct canal route between Orissa and that port. The chief merchants of Orissa, however, have not tumbled to the idea, and cling to their old fashioned notions of sending their goods by a shorter and cheaper route to the ports to where they make most profit. The petty producer may be left out of all calculation, for he grows his crop for his own consumption first, and then for sale to the merchant. There is no such thing in Orissa as a class of small traders dealing directly with the open markets of the world. On all the rivers and creeks are to be seen golahs for the storing of rice, none of which is destined for Calcutta, and everywhere are to be seen representatives of those keen eyed Jewish looking men hailing from the Western Presidency, in whose hands lies practically the entire export trade of Orissa. An experiment was recently started in the Cuttack district in the direction of establishing a husking mill at Alba. It had to be abandoned. No grist came to the mill.

A notice of Balasore written 10 or 15 years ago, without an account of the salt industry, would have been very incomplete. That industry has now entirely disappeared. The manufacture of *punga* salt which was rapidly dying out, was finally extinguished last year, and Liverpool and Ganjam salt has taken its place. The policy which dictated the abolition of *punga* manufacture is one, naturally, the subject of much controversy; but as this paper is meant to shew Balasore as it is and not to discuss controverted questions, I shall not enter into the pros and cons of the salt question.

For climate and surroundings, Balasore is undoubtedly one of the most delightful districts in the Lower Provinces.

A. C. TUTE.

[*To be continued.*]

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ART. XI.—INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.

IT is sometimes remarked that India is a country without a constitution ; but, as a matter of fact, there is a considerable body of constitutional law contained in some forty statutes of the British Parliament. The educated public have ample opportunities of acquainting themselves with the civil, criminal, and revenue laws, contained as they are in Acts of the Indian or Local Legislatures, and supplemented by a perennial stream of treatises, text-books, and annotated editions. But the constitutional law is embedded in statutes, which are not very accessible, and the language of which is calculated to repel even the legal student, much more the lay reader. This being so, the writer believes that the collection and methodical arrangement of the scattered materials may be of use and interest to laymen and lawyers alike, and in the latter term he of course includes all those who are engaged in the administration of justice.

The subject-matter may be conveniently treated under the following headings :—

I.—ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND—

1. The Crown and Parliament.
2. The Secretary of State.
3. The Council of India.
4. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

II.—THE GOVERNMENT IN INDIA—

1. The Govenor-General in Council.
2. Local Governments.
3. The Council of the Viceroy—*(a)* Executive—*(b)* Legislative.
4. Provincial Councils—*(a)* Executive—*(b.)* Legislative.
5. Informal Legislation.

III.—THE ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA—

1. The Civil Service.
2. The High Courts.
3. Ecclesiastical Establishments.

IV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

V.—PENAL PROVISIONS.

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I.—Administration of Indian Affairs in England.

1. *The Crown.*

For all practical purposes, India is governed by the Governor-General in Council subject to the control of the Secretary of State in Council. Still there are certain acts and powers which can only be done and exercised by the Crown.

The Charter Act of 1833 (3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85) continued the East India Company's Government till the 30th April 1854. By this Act the real and personal property of the Company was already held in trust for the Crown for the service of India, and the Crown appointed Commissioners for the affairs of India, who controlled all the acts and operations of the Company. In 1858 the Government of India was transferred to the Crown, and the effects of this transfer may be summarized as follows* :—

1. All the rights, which might have been exercised by the Company, were to be exercised by Her Majesty.
2. All territorial and other revenues, tributes and other payments, were to be received for and in the name of Her Majesty.
3. All real and personal property of the Company vested in Her Majesty for the purposes of the Government of India.
4. All treaties made by the Company were to be binding on Her Majesty.
5. As regards suits, remedies, proceedings, contracts, liabilities and engagements, the Secretary of State in Council stepped into the place of the Company.

The Secretary of State in Council is the final authority in almost all matters affecting the destinies of the peoples of India; but, as has been remarked, there are one or two acts which can be done only by, or in the name of Her Majesty† :—

1. The Indian Military and Naval forces hold their commissions and offices under the Crown, and Her Majesty may, from time to time, by order in Council, regulate the terms and conditions of service.
2. All appointments to cadetships, naval and military, and all admissions to service, not otherwise expressely provided for, are vested in Her Majesty.
3. Her Majesty may remove or dismiss any person holding any office under the Crown in India.‡

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* See 21 and 22 Vic. c. 106, ss. 2, 3, 39, 65, 67.

† 21 and 22 Vict. c. 106, ss. 33, 56, 57.

‡ 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85, s. 74. See also 4 and 5 Will. IV., c 24, s. 30. The Crown had this power when India was under the Company.

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The transfer of India to the Crown was specially recognised in 1876 by the Act 39 Victoria, chapter 10, which empowers Her Majesty to make such addition to her style and titles as to her may seem meet.*

It is possibly because the governing body of India is so constituted, that collision with the Crown is impossible, that we find it provided by Sec. 24 of 24 and 25 Vict., c. 67 (the Indian Councils Act) that "no law or regulation made by the Governor-General in Council (subject to the power of disallowance by the Crown) shall be deemed invalid by reason only that it affects the prerogative of the Crown." At the same time it is enacted in Sec. 52 of the same Statute, that nothing shall be deemed to derogate from the rights vested in Her Majesty, in relation to the Government of India, under any law in force at the date of the passing of the Act.

The power formerly vested in the Court of Directors to recall the Governor-General (3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85, s. 75) is now vested in the Crown. So also the power to recall Governors.

As regards Parliament, there are certain matters (which will be noticed in their proper place) in which orders passed by the Secretary of State in Council must be laid before Parliament within a certain fixed time; but the only instance in which the consent of Parliament is specifically declared to be necessary is contained in Sec. 55 of 21 and 22 Vic., c. 106, which enacts that, "except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, *or under other sudden and urgent necessity*, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by Her Majesty's Forces charged upon such revenues." There have been keen debates in Parliament from time to time as to the object and scope of this section, and whether the consent of Parliament must be obtained before war is commenced. Such discussions took place on the passing of the Act in 1858, on the despatch of Indian troops to Egypt by Lord Beaconsfield, on the Afghan War, and on the annexation of Upper Burmah.

The year 1889 has witnessed the beginning of a more active interference on the part of the House of Commons with the Government of India. It can, no doubt, be demonstrated that this interference with the details of administration is not illegal; but the constitutional jurist must take a broader

* Under this Statute, Her Majesty assumed the title of "Empress of India:" *Gazette of India*, Extraordinary, 1st January 1877.

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view of this question than the lawyer pure and simple. Is the constitution being preserved in the letter only, but broken in the spirit? The practice of constant interpellation on Indian matters in the House of Commons, and the dictation of systems and policies to be observed in various branches of the administration,—of which the recent condemnation of the excise outstill system is a signal instance—raise very grave constitutional issues. The issue cannot be better explained than by quoting Sir Arthur Hobhouse's definition of the term "unconstitutional," as distinguished from "illegal." "I mean," says Sir Arthur Hobhouse, "that which is within the letter of the law, but which so exaggerates one integral part of a complex system as to reduce some other integral part to insignificance, or to prevent the whole from working as designed. All arrangements on a large scale embrace different principles, which if pushed to extremes, are destructive of one another, and the working of which must be controlled by reference to the object of the whole, as found in written documents or in usage and precedent . . . . . When Parliament has attributed certain functions to certain officers, those functions ought to be exercised freely by those officers; and any attempt to draw them into other hands by the use of a remaining power, *e. g.*, the power of dismissal, is what I call unconstitutional."

It is worth while to produce here *in extenso* the section of the Charter Act (3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85, s. 51) in which Parliament itself has declared the right and functions of Parliament as regards the administration of India:—

> "Provided always, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend to affect in any way the right of Parliament to make laws for the said territories, and for all the inhabitants thereof.
>
> And it is expressly declared that a full, complete and constantly existing power is intended to be reserved to Parliament to *control, supersede, or prevent all proceedings and acts whatsoever* of the said Governor-General in Council, and to repeal and alter at any time any law or regulation whatsoever made by the said Governor-General in Council, and in all respects to legislate for the said territories and all the inhabitants thereof in as full and ample a manner as if this Act had not been passed;
>
> And the better to enable Parliament to exercise at all times such right and power, all laws and regulations made by the said Governor-General in Council shall be transmitted to England, and laid before both Houses of Parliament, in the same manner as is now by law provided concerning the rules and regulations made by the several Governments in India."

Though the words italicised are very wide, the whole section read together seems to contemplate the legislative acts and proceedings of the Governor-General in Council. It will be seen from

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the Statute that the preceding sections refer to the Legislative Council. Of course Parliament, moving deliberately and with full knowledge, has full powers of control over Indian legislation; but assuredly it was not the intention of Parliament that systems of administration in Indian provinces should be initiated, altered or reversed by a party vote, possibly snatched for party purposes by party influences. I do not allege that the recent vote regarding the outstill system falls within such category; but the danger always remains. If such was not the intention of Parliament—and not merely the absence, but the direct reverse, of such intention can clearly be inferred from constitutional Statutes in force—then there are good grounds for affirming that the constitution is being unwarrantably strained, if not altogether broken.

1. *The Secretary of State.*

It has already been mentioned that by 21 and 22 Vict. Chap. 106 (an Act for the better Government of India), the territories in the possession and under the Government of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown, and it was enacted that the powers of the East India Company and of the Commissioners for the affairs of India should be exercised by one of the principal Secretaries of State. The Board of Commissioners had had the full superintendence, direction and control of the Civil and Military Government and revenues of the said territories (33 Geo. III., c.52, s. 9), and also of all grants of salaries and allowances, and all other payments chargeable to the said revenues (3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 85, s.25). In matters of war or peace, or negotiations with Native States, *of a nature to require secrecy*, the Commissioners were empowered to send their orders to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, who transmitted them to the respective Governments of India; and the Secretary of State is now empowered (21 and 22 Vic., c. 106, s.27) to send such orders direct without submitting them to a meeting of the India Council. A departure is allowed also from the ordinary procedure in the case of urgent despatches (*ibid.* s. 26); but any order to commence hostilities in India must be communicated to Parliament within three months after it has been sent (*ib.* s. 54).

With regard to the assertion that, owing to the telegraph, India is now governed from England by the Secretary of State, it should be remarked that the supervision of the Court of Directors was just as close in theory; it was only the time occupied in communicating orders that prevented it from being so in practice. By Sec. 9 of 13 Geo. III, c. 63, the Governor-General and Council were directed "to pay due obedience to all orders received from the Court of Directors, to correspond from time to time, and to

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constantly and diligently transmit to them an *exact particular* of all advices or intelligence, and of all transactions and matters whatsoever, that shall come to their knowledge relating to the Government, commerce, revenues or interest of the United Company."

The Secretary of State for India and the permanent and Parliamentary Under-Secretaries receive the same salaries as may for the time being be paid to other Secretaries of State and Under-Secretaries respectively.

It seems to be the result of several complicated enactments in force, that the Secretary of State in Council has the power to create new Governorships in India without any reference to the local authorities, but the power has never been used, and it does not seem likely that it ever will be used. He also has the power to make regulations for the distribution of patronage in India.*

2. THE COUNCIL OF INDIA. †

Constitution, Qualifications and Incidents.

The Council of India consists of fifteen members, who are appointed by the Secretary of State. Members used to hold their office during good behaviour; but since 1869 appointments are made for a term of ten years. The Secretary of State may, however, re-appoint for five years any person whose term of office has expired, provided such re-appointment be made for special reasons of public advantage, to be set forth in a minute signed by the said Secretary of State, and laid before both Houses of Parliament. Moreover, under 33 Vic., c. 10, a Member of Council may, under certain conditions, be appointed to hold office during good behaviour. The majority of the Members of Council must be persons who have served or resided in India for at least ten years, and have not last left India more than ten years next preceding the date of their appointment; and no person not so qualified can be appointed to fill any vacancy, unless, at the time of his appointment, at least nine of the continuing members be persons so qualified. The salary of a Member of the Council is £1,200 a year and the retiring pension £500. No member can sit or vote in Parliament.

Functions and Duties of the Council. ‡

It is the duty of the Council, under the direction of the Secretary of State, to conduct the business transacted in the

* 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 85, s. 78; 21 and 22 Vict., c. 106, s. 30; 53 Geo. II., c. 135, s. 89

† Section 21 and 22 Vic, c. 106, ss. 7, 10—13; 32 and 33 Vic., c. 97, ss. 1—3; 39 Vic., c. 7.

‡ 21 and 22 Vic., c. 106, ss. 19—28; 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85, s. 36.

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United Kingdom in relation to the Government of India and the correspondence with India. The Secretary of State divides the Council into Committees for the more convenient transaction of business. He is the President of the Council, and may appoint any member from time to time to be Vice-President. Meetings must be held at least once a week, and five members are required for a quorum. No part of the revenues of India can be granted or appropriated, and no bonds or debentures can be issued in Great Britain, without the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council; but if there is a difference of opinion on any question other than these, or regarding the election of a Member of Council, the determination of the Secretary of State is final. All acts, however, done at any meeting in the absence of the Secretary of State, except the election of a Member of the Council, require the sanction or approval in writing of the Secretary of State. All orders, not passed at a meeting, are to be open for seven days to the perusal of Members of Council, who may record their opinions thereon. If the Secretary of State act against the opinions of the majority, he must record his reasons for doing so. It has been mentioned above that the Secretary of State can transmit direct to the Government of India certain orders of secrecy or urgency. Similarly the Government of India (and the Governments of Bombay and Madras) may mark "secret" any despatches which might have been addressed to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors; and such despatches shall not be communicated to the Members of the Council, unless the Secretary of State shall so think fit and direct.

The above provisions are contained in the Act of 1869. In 1876 * an Act was passed authorizing the appointment of not more than three persons at the same time "of professional or other peculiar qualifications." The special reasons for every appointment under this Act are to be stated in a minute of the Secretary of State for India, and laid before both Houses of Parliament. This Act does not affect the provisions † regarding the total number of the Council and the qualifications of the majority of members.

"Secretary of State" and "Secretary of State in Council."

The distinction between the "Secretary of State" and the "Secretary of State in Council" is not always quite apparent. The Secretary of State is "the executive" of the Council of India, and something more. He may act alone in all cases (21 and 22 Vict. c. 106, s. 3) except those in which the

* 39 Vic., c. 7, s. 1.

† 21 and 22 Vic., c. 106, ss. 7, 10.

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law specially mentions the Secretary of State in Council, and even so he may override his Council except in three matters. When he acts alone and not in Council, he merely has to record his reasons, if his act is disapproved by a majority of the Council. The principal powers and duties which are specially mentioned as belonging to the "Secretary of State in Council" are the following*:—

1. Power to appoint to offices, commands and employments in India.
2. Power to make regulations for the division and distribution of patronage and power of nomination among the several authorities in India, and power to reinstate officials suspended or removed by any authority in India. The Act confers the same power as might have been exercised by the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Commissioners for the affairs of India.
3. Power to make regulations for the admission of candidates to the Civil Service of India.
4. Power to sell, purchase and acquire land, and to enter into contracts.
5. Power to control the expenditure of the revenues of India.
6. Power to issue bonds, debentures and other securities for money in Great Britain.
7. Power to sue and be sued both in India and England as a body corporate. The Act provides that all persons may have and take the same remedies and proceedings, legal and equitable, against the Secretary of State in Council as they could have done against the East India Company. †
8. The duty of laying before both Houses of Parliament, within the first fourteen days during which Parliamay be sitting next after the first day of May in each year, the accounts of the receipts and disbursements at home and abroad on account of the Government of India for the preceding financial year.

Finally, Sec. 52 of the "Indian Councils Act," 1861, provides that nothing in that Act shall be held to derogate from the powers of the Secretary of State for India in Council, in relation to the Government of Her Majesty's dominions in India, under any law in force at the date of the passing of the said Act.

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* 21 and 22 Vict. c. 106, ss. 30, 32, 40, 41, 49, 65.

† See P. and O. S. N. Co. *v.* Secretary of State for India. Bourke's Rep. Pt. VII., 166.

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The power to declare war or commence hostilities or enter into any treaty for making war against any of the country Princes or States in India, or any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any country Princes or States may apparently be exercised by the Secretary of State alone.* But any order directing the actual commencement of hostilities by Her Majesty's forces in India must be communicated to both Houses of Parliament within three months from the sending of such order, if Parliament be sitting, unless such order shall have been in the meantime revoked or suspended, and if Parliament be not sitting at the end of such three months, then within one month after the next meeting of Parliament. (21 and 22 Vict., c. 106, s. 54).†

Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The practice of hearing matters of appeal and petition before the whole of His Majesty's Privy Council having been found inconvenient, a Judicial Committee of such Council was formed in 1833 under the Act 3 and 4, Will. IV., c. 41. This Committee was to consist of the Lord High Chancellor for the time being, and the Members of the Privy Council holding the following offices, namely, the Lord Keeper or First Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal of Great Britain, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the Vice-Chancellor of England, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and Chief Judge of the Court in Bankruptcy, and also all Members of the Privy Council who may have been President thereof or may have held any of the above offices. His Majesty was also empowered to appoint from time to time any two other persons, being Privy Councillors. All appeals to the King in Council were to be referred by him to the Judicial Committee, who were to make a report or recommendation to him, the nature of such report or recommendation being always stated in open Court. The Crown may also refer any other matters to the Committee for hearing or consideration. The above Statute contains further provisions regarding evidence, procedure, costs and execution of decrees.

Section 30 of the Statute provides that two Members of the Privy Council, who shall have held the office of Judge in the East Indies or any of His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, shall be appointed to attend the sittings of the

* 33 Geo. III. c. 52, s. 42, read with 21 and 22 Vict., c. 106, s. 3.

† As to powers of Governor-General in Council, see page 151; as to powers of Governors of Bombay and Madras, see page 154.

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Judicial Committee. Such Members receive £400 a year as an indemnity for the expense which they may incur.

Ten years later it was enacted that appeals, &c., might be heard by not less than three Members of the Judical Committee of the Privy Council under a special order of Her Majesty (6 and 7 Vic., c. 38.) This Act allows appeals from Ecclesiastical Courts, as the former Act had allowed appeals from Admiralty Courts, to be referred to the Judicial Committee. By 7 and 8 Vic., c. 69, the Judicial Committee may direct the Judges of any Court in any colony or foreign settlement or foreign dominion of the Crown to transmit a copy of the notes of evidence in cases brought by appeal or writ of error before the said Committee.

By the Act 34 and 35 Vict., c. 91, Judges of the Judicial Committee are to receive a salary of £5,000 a year, including any pension to which they may be entitled. They hold their offices during good behaviour, but are removable by Her Majesty upon the address of both Houses of Parliament. In 1881 it was enacted (44 Vic., c. 3) that "every person holding, or who has held in England the office of a Lord Justice of Appeal shall, if a Member of Her Majesty's Privy Council in England, be a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council."

Clause 39 of the Letters Patent of the Calcutta High Court, 1865, ordains that there shall be an appeal to the Privy Council, in any matter not being of criminal jurisdiction, from any final appellate judgment, decree, or order of the High Court, or from any such original order of the Court, or of any Division Court from which an appeal shall not lie to the said High Court under the 15th clause of the Letters Patent: provided that the sum or matter at issue is of not less than Rs. 10,000 value. If the value is less than Rs. 10,000 an appeal is not allowed, unless the High Court declare that the case is a fit one for appeal. The High Court may also permit an appeal from any preliminary or interlocutory judgment, not being of criminal jurisdiction. An appeal is also allowed from judgments, orders, or sentences of the High Court, made in the exercise of its Original Criminal Jurisdiction, or in any criminal case where any point or points of law have been reserved for the opinion of the said High Court by any Court which has exercised original jurisdiction: but the High Court must certify that the case is a fit one for such appeal. The Letters Patent for the other High Courts contain similar provisions.

II. The Government in India.

1. *The Governor-General in Council.*

The superintendence, direction and control of the Civil and Military Government of India are vested in the Governor-

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General in Council. * The principal constitutional powers vested in him are the following:—

(*a.*) He superintends and controls all Local Governments. †

(*b.*) He may, with the previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, constitute any part of India into a new Province under a Lieutenant-Governor or a Chief Commissioner. ‡ It was under this power that Assam was in 1874 separated from Bengal and constituted a separate Province. The most recent exercise of this power was the consolidation of Upper and Lower Burmah into a single Chief Commissionership. It will be seen from the Statutes referred to, that the law does not authorise the constitution of new provinces under *Governors* as opposed to Lieutenant-Governors. Neither does there seem to be any power to subordinate any Chief Commissioner to a Governor, a Governor in Council, or a Lieutenant-Governor, in the same way as the Commissioner of Sindh was subordinate to the Governor of Bombay.

(*c.*) He may vary the limits of provinces. The words used in the law § are "the limits of any presidency, division, province or territory in India." The word "division" does not appear to be here used in the limited sense of a Commissioner's Division. The Secretary of State in Council may disallow any such alteration, and it is peculiar to note that the transfer of an *entire* district from one Presidency to another has no force without the *previous* sanction of Her Majesty. ‖

(*d.*) He has power to vary the limits of the towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. ¶ It seems doubtful whether these limits can be reduced. The preamble of the Statute certainly recites the power to "declare and prescribe" the limits, but the enacting portion gives power to "extend" only. Moreover the preamble recites the necessity for extending owing to "the increase of the population."

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* 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 85, ss. 38, 39; 5 and 6 Wm. IV., c. 52; 16 and 17 Vict., c. 95, ss. 15—17.

† 33 Geo. III. c. 52, ss. 24, 40.

‡ 17 and 18 Vict., c. 77, ss. 3, 4; 24 and 25 Vict, c. 67, s. 46.

§ 24 and 25 Vict. c. 67, s. 47.

‖ 28 and 29. Vict. c. 17, s 5.

¶ 55 Geo. III. c. 84, s. 1.

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(*e.*) He appoints Lieutenant-Governors subject to the approbation of Her Majesty. This power is exercised by the Viceroy alone.*

(*f.*) As an exception to the general rule, the Governor-General in Council may declare war in cases where hostilities have actually been commenced, or preparations for the commencement of hostilities have been actually made against India or against a Native State; but the fact of commencing such hostilities, with the reasons therefor, must be immediately communicated to the Secretary of State. † The Statute, in which this rule is contained, was before Parliament in the years 1792-1793, and the particular section which enacts the provision recites that "the pursuit of schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India is repugnant to the wish, the honour and policy of this nation."

(*g.*) He may issue warrants for securing and detaining in custody persons suspected of carrying on any illicit correspondence dangerous to the peace or safety of any of the British settlements or possessions in India.‡ Such persons may be brought to trial in India or England. There are later State Regulations (*e. g.*, Reg. III. of 1818, for Bengal) which authorize the arrest and detention of any person under the Governor-General's warrant. Under these Regulations it is not necessary either to specify the reason for arrest, or to bring the person arrested to trial.

The salary of the Governor-General is 240,000 sicca rupees.

2. *Local Governments.*

The historical division of British India into three Presidencies has now passed away, and it may be useful to the reader to enumerate the various Local or "Provincial" Governments:—

1. Bengal (Lower Provinces.)
2. Assam.
3. Madras.
4. Bombay (including Sind and Aden.)
5. North-West Provinces and Oudh.
6. The Punjab.
7. The Central Provinces.
8. Burmah.

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* 21 and 22 Vict., c. 106, s. 29.
† 33 Geo. III., c. 52, s. 42.
‡ *id.* s. 45.

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9.	Ajmere.	Directly under the Governor-General.
10.	Berar (Hyderabad Assigned Districts.)	
11.	Coorg with Bangalore.	
12.	Andaman Islands.	

The subordination of Local Governments to the Government of India is absolute.* The Governor-General in Council has full power and authority to superintend and control them in "all points relating to the Civil or Military Administration," and Local Governments are bound to obey "in all cases whatsoever." They are required "constantly and diligently to transmit to the Governor-General in Council an exact particular of all advices or intelligence, and of all transactions and matters whatsoever relating to the Government, commerce, revenues or interest of the said Company." They are forbidden to commence hostilities or conclude any treaty with any Indian Prince or State (except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to delay) without first obtaining the consent of the Governor-General in Council. If any such treaty has to be made, it must, if possible, contain a clause subjecting the same to the ratification or rejection of the Governor-General in Council. If any doubt is entertained as to the power of the latter to issue any particular directions, Local Governments must nevertheless obey, unless they have received positive orders from the Court of Directors (Secretary of State), which are repugnant to the directions of the Governor-General in Council, and not known to them at the time of despatching such directions. This provision is of course applicable only to those Governments (Madras and Bombay) which are allowed to correspond direct with the Secretary of State. The powers of a Local Government used to remain suspended when the Governor-General visited the Province, but this rule was done away with by the Charter Act of 1833.

The Governors of Madras and Bombay, and the ordinary Members of their Councils, as well as the ordinary Members of the Governor-General's Council, are appointed by Her Majesty by warrant under Her Royal Sign Manual. † Lieutenant-Governors are appointed by the Viceroy, subject to the approbation of Her Majesty. Chief Commissioners are appointed by the Viceroy alone. Although a Chief Commissioner is no doubt the "Local Government" within the meaning of the General Clauses Act, ‡ still he merely administers territory on behalf of the Governor-General in Council, who does not divest

* 13 Geo. III., c. 63, s. 9; 33 Geo. III, c. 52, ss. 40, 41, 43, 44; 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 85, ss. 65, 67.

† 32 and 33 Vict., c. 97, s, 8, repealing in part 21 and 22 Vict., c. 106, s. 29.

‡ Act I of 1868, s. 2 (10.)

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himself of any of his powers in making over the local administration to a Chief Commissioner.

The Governors of Madras and Bombay have power to extend the limits of the towns of Madras and Bombay respectively.* They have the same power as the Governor-General of securing and detaining persons suspected of illicit correspondence dangerous to the peace or safety of the British possessions in India.

The salary of a Governor is Rs. 1,20,000 ; it used to be paid in sicca rupees. The salary of a Lieutenant-Governor is Rs. 8,000. A Lieutenant-Governor was first appointed in 1836 for the North-West Provinces, and for the Lower Provinces in 1854. Up to 1854 the Governor-General had also been Governor of Bengal† Section 17 of 16 and 17 Vic., c. 95, gave the Court of Directors power to create one new Presidency, and until its creation, to authorize the Governor-General to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor and declare the extent of his authority. Further powers of constituting new Provinces, and of appointing Lieutenant-Governors to them, are given to the Governor-General by 24 and 25 Vic., c. 67., s. 46.

Chief Commissionerships.

It does not seem to be quite clear whether Chief Commissionerships can be formed by executive order. The difficulty arises partly from the fact that the term "Chief Commissioners" does not occur in any Statute prior to 1870. There are three Statutes dealing with the formation and alteration of Provinces, namely,

17 and 18 Vict., c. 77, ss 3, 4, (1854).
24 and 25 Vict., c. 67, s. 47, (1861).
28 and 29 Vict., c. 17, s. 4, (1865).

Sir Barnes Peacock expressed the opinion in 1852, that the Governor-General in Council had no power to take under his immediate executive control territory which formed part of some one of the Presidencies. There is some reason to believe that it was in consequence of that opinion that the third section of the Statute of 1854 was passed. Under this section Arracan, formerly part of Lower Bengal, was in 1862 annexed to British Burmah, and Assam was in 1874 constituted a separate Chief Commissionership, the regulation District of Sylhet being subsequently added to it in the same manner. On the other hand the Chief Commissionerships of Oudh (combined with North-West Provinces in 1877), the Central Provinces (1861) and British (now Lower) Burmah (1862), were formed by simple executive orders.

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* 55 Geo. III., c. 84.

† 16 and 17 Vic., c. 95, s. 14.

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The Statute of 1861 is that known as the "Indian Councils Act," and from the wording * of Sec. 47, it would appear that the power given by it is intended to be exercised only for the purposes of legislation. It contemplates the case of the disseverance of a territory from a Province having a Legislative Council and its attachment to some other Province having a Legislative Council. A more general power of defining and altering the limits of Provinces is given by the last of the above-mentioned Statutes. The section is as follows :—

> "It shall be lawful for the Governor-General of India in Council from time to time to declare . . . . what part or parts of the Indian territories . . . . . shall be or continue subject to each of the Presidencies or Lieutenant-Governorships for the time being subsisting in such territories, and to make such distribution and arrangements, or new distribution and arrangement, of such territories into or among such Presidencies or Lieutenant-Governorships as may seem expedient."

It has been held by the Legislative Department of the Government of India that this section' enables the Governor-General in Council to transfer territory from a Chief Commissionership to a Presidency or Lieutenant-Governorship, but does not allow the converse ; that Parliament, having enacted 17 and 18 Vict., c. 77, s. 3, must be taken to have been aware of the existence of territories called Chief Commissionerships, and to have deliberately omitted to mention them in 28 Vict., c. 17. The Province of Assam was formed in 1874 by proclamation under the former Statute. It is a matter of doubt whether, by such proclamation, territory is withdrawn from the legislative powers of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, the Board of Revenue, or the High Court. This doubt is of no importance if the territories so removed are brought under the provisions of 33 Vict., chapter 3, † as the law may be altered and the authority of the High Court and Board of Revenue abrogated by Regulations framed under that Statute.

THE COUNCIL OF THE VICEROY. ‡

The Executive Council.

The Council, as at present constituted, consists of the Commander-in-Chief, and the following ordinary members,

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* The section runs :—"It shall be lawful . . . to fix the limits of any presidency, division, province or territory in India *for the purposes of this Act*, and further to divide or alter from time to time the limits, &c., *for the said purposes.*"

† This deals with informal legislation, and will be noticed in the next instalment of this essay in the October number.

‡ 24 and 25 Vict., c 67, ss. 3, 8, 9, 10, 17 ; 33 Vict., c. 3, s. 3 ; 37 and 38 Vict, c. 91.

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Legal, Home, Financial, Public Works and Military. There must always be five members, and since 1874, a sixth member may be appointed "for public works purposes." Three members must have been in the service of the Crown in India for not less than ten years, and of the remaining two, one must be a Barrister of not less than five years standing. The Commander-in-Chief may be appointed by the Secretary of State as an Extraordinary Member, and when so appointed, he takes rank next after the Viceroy. While the Viceroy and Council are in any Province administered by a Governor in Council, such Governor is an Extraordinary Member for such time. When they are in the Province of a Lieutenant-Governor, such Lieutenant-Governor is an Additional Councillor only at meetings of the Legislative Council. Only ordinary and extraordinary members can be present at the ordinary or executive meetings of the Council. Any Member in the Military Service of the Crown cannot, while a Member, hold any Military command or be employed in actual Military duties. The Viceroy, when present, presides at all meetings, and may adjourn them from time to time and from place to place, as he thinks fit. He may make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in Council. All orders are issued in the name of the Governor-General in Council, and they must be signed by a Secretary to the Government of India.*

The Viceroy and one or more ordinary members constitute a quorum for ordinary meetings. In the case of difference of opinion, when there shall be an equality of votes, the Viceroy has two votes or the casting vote.† In ordinary cases the Viceroy is bound by the decision of the majority; but whenever any measure is proposed whereby the safety, tranquillity or interests of the British possessions in India, are, or may be, in the judgment of the Viceroy, essentially affected, and he is of opinion that the measure proposed ought to be adopted, or that it ought to be suspended or rejected, and the majority in Council then present dissent from such opinion, the Viceroy may, on his own authority and responsibility, suspend or reject the measure in part or in whole, or adopt and carry it into execution. In such case any two members of the dissentient majority may require that the matter be at once notified to the Secretary of State, and the notification is to be accompanied by

* By 33 Geo. III., c. 52, s, 39, the Chief Secretary to the Council had to sign. Now, in the absence of the Chief Secretary, the Principal Secretary of the Department may sign.

† 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 85, s. 48. Under 13 Geo. III., c. 63, s. 8, "the oldest Counsellor present" has a casting vote in the absence of the Governor-General.

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the recorded minutes of the Members of Council.* When he acts under this section, the Viceroy alone is responsible. At the same time, he has no power to make or carry out any order which he could not have done with the concurrence of his Council.†

The Governor-General, when absent from his Council, may issue any orders which might have been issued by the Governor-General in Council, to the Governments, Officers, and servants of other Presidencies, but he alone is held responsible for such orders, ‡ and he is bound to send copies of such orders to the Secretary of State or the Governors of such Presidencies as the case may be. If the Governor-General in Council declares that it is expedient that the Governor-General should visit any part of India unaccompanied by his Council, he may nominate some Member of the Council to be President during his absence. If both the Governor-General and such nominated President are obliged to be absent from any ordinary Meeting of Council, the senior ordinary Member present presides. But no act of Council at such meeting shall be valid or of any effect, unless it is signed by the Governor-General or President respectively, if resident at the place at which such meeting shall be assembled, and not prevented by indisposition from signing. §

The salary of an ordinary Member of the Council of India is Rs. 76,800 per annum ; it used to be 96,000 sicca rupees.

The Legislative Council and Legislation.

Indian Legislation before the "Indian Councils Act," 1861.

It is not necessary to do more than mention the early Charters; namely, the Charter of Queen Elizabeth in 1601, which granted to the Governor and Company power to make reasonable laws and orders from the good Government of the said Company, and for the better advancement and continuance of their trade and traffic; the renewal of such Charter by James I in 1609, and by Charles II in 1661. No trace of the laws passed under these Charters now exists. The Charter granted by William III became the foundation of the United Company, which was subsequently called the East India Company.

In 1726 the Charter of George I, which also established the Mayors' Courts, gave power to the Governors and Councils of

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* 33 Vict., c. 3, s. 5, superseding 33 Geo. III., c 52, s 47. Such minutes were recorded when the cotton duties were partially repealed by Lord Lytton in 1879.

† 33 Geo. III. c. 52, ss. 48, 49.

‡ 33 Geo. III. c. 52, s. 54.

§ 24 and 25 Vict., c. 67, ss. 6, 7 ; 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, s. 70.

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the three Presidencies to make laws. A similar power was given by the Charter of 1753. By the Regulating Act of 1773 the Governor-General in Council was empowered to make regulations for the government of India, and in 1793 those regulations were collected into a code by Lord Cornwallis. Similar regulations were applied in 1799 and 1801 to Madras and Bombay, and in 1803 they were extended to the North-West Provinces.

The history of legislation in India, prior to the passing of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, may be divided into three periods:—

1. The period prior to 1833, when all Presidencies had the power to legislate.
2. The period from 1833 to 1853.
3. The period from 1853 to 1861.

The Act of 1773 placed the legislative power of the Governor-General and Council under the supervision and subject to the veto of the Supreme Court. In 1781 an Act of Parliament empowered the Governor-General and Council to frame regulations for the Provincial Courts, without reference to the Supreme Court. In 1800 the Governor and Council of Madras were invested * within the territories subject to their Government, with the same legislative power as had previously, by the Act of 1781, been given to the Governor-General and Council of Fort William. In 1807 † a similar power was given to the Governor in Council at Bombay. It does not appear that the Governor-General exercised any direct authority over the Governors in Council at Madras or Bombay in the matter of making laws. In 1813 ‡ the legislative power so conferred on all three Councils was extended, but at the same time was placed under greater control as regards the sanction of the Court of Directors. The Act of 1813 also provided that copies of legislative regulations, made by the several Governments of India, should be annually laid before Parliament.

Thus the legislative powers of the Councils were developed from time to time, and they enacted laws and regulations till 1834, an important year in the history of Indian legislation. Down to 1834 there were five different bodies of Statute law in force in the Empire:—

1. The English Statute law existing in 1726, (so far as applicable), which was introduced by the Charter of George I, and which applied, at least, in the Presidency towns.

* 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 11. † 47 Geo. III, Sess. 2, c. 68.
‡ 53 Geo. III, c. 155, ss. 98—100.

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2. All English Statutes subsequent to 1726, which are expressly extended to any part of India.
3. The Regulations of the Governor-General's Councils, which commence with the revised Code of 1793, containing 48 regulations, all passed on the same day (embracing the results of twelve years' antecedent legislation), and were continued down to the year 1834 They had only force in the Presidency of Bengal.
4. The regulations of the Madras Council, from 1802 to 1834, in force in Madras.
5. The regulations of the Bombay Code, which began with the revised Code of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1827, comprising the results of 28 years' previous legislation, and were also continued till 1834, having force and validity in the Presidency of Fort St. David.

In 1833, by the Act 3 and 4 Will. IV, c 85, there was established in India one central legislative authority in place of the three Councils which had before existed. This Act was passed for a period of 20 years only, and accordingly in 1853 fresh legislation became necessary. During this interval great complaints had emanated from other parts of India of the centralization of power and authority at Calcutta ; and it was accordingly provided by the new Act passed in 1853 (16 and 17 Vic., c. 95, s. 22) that certain Legislative Councillors should be added to the existing Council. It was also provided that no law made by the Council should have force until assented to by the Governor-General, whether he had or had not been present in Council at the making thereof. New members were added to the Council, called Legislative Members, of whom two were English Judges of the Calcutta Supreme Court, and the others were appointed severally by the Local Governments. As a result of these changes, discussion became oral instead of in writing ; Bills were referred to Select Committees instead of to a single Member ; and legislative business was conducted in public instead of in secret. The new system, so far from fulfilling the expectations formed of it, proved a signal failure ; and that it did so, was in a measure due to the presence on the Council of the Chief Justice and one of the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court. The arrogation and usurpation of authority on the part of the Supreme Court in matters coming before it is so notorious a matter of history that I need merely allude to it.* "Madras and Bombay complained," says Cowell

* See Shore's Notes on the Affairs of India, *passim:* Mill, IV, 242, 373—375: V. Chapter VI: Tagore Lectures, 1872, Lectures II and III: Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings: Nuncomar and Impey, Chaps. II. and X, &c.

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"of the enormous preponderance of authority which Bengal through Her Council acquired over the sister Presidencies. The wide extent of dominion subject to the Legislation of the Council rendered it impossible that all questions could be settled by the light of adequate information and experience; while the internal governance of the Council itself was such that it was rapidly assuming the character, contrary to the intentions of Parliament, of a representative and debating Society assembled for the purposes of inquiry into and redress of grievances." The assumption of the procedure of the House of Commons caused the impression, contrary to the intentions of Government, that reports and returns should be ordered by Council from the Local Administrations; that long debates should be held on questions of public interest; and that measures should be introduced independently of the executive Government. Sir Charles Wood, in introducing the Council's Act into the House of Commons, complained that the Indian Council had become a sort of debating Society or petty Parliament. Sir Lawrence Peel remarked of the Council:—"It has no jurisdiction in the nature of that of a grand inquest of the nation. Its functions are purely legislative, and are limited even in that respect. It is not an Anglo-Indian House of Commons for the redress of grievances, to refuse supplies, and so forth." Public opinion, both in England and in India, condemned the Council for its unwarrantable attempt to assume functions other than those for which it had been constituted, and for engaging in lengthy discussions which could lead to no practical result.

Sir Charles Wood, in his speech on the first reading of the Bill, said:—"I am sure that every one who considers the condition of India will see that it is utterly impossible to constitute in that country a representative body to make laws. You cannot possibly assemble at any one place in India persons who shall be the real representatives of the various classes of the native populations of that Empire. It is quite true that, when you diminish the area over which legislation is to extend, you diminish the difficulty of such a plan. In Ceylon, which is not more extensive than a large Collectorate in India, you have a legislative body consisting partly of Englishmen and partly of natives, and I do not know that that Government has worked unsuccessfully; but with the extended area with which we have to deal in India, it would be physically impossible to constitute such a body. The natives who are resident in the towns no more represent the resident native population than a highly educated native of London at the present day represents a Highland chieftain or a feudal Baron of half a dozen centuries ago. To talk of a native representation is, therefore, to talk of that which is, simply and utterly

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impossible." As regards place of meeting, and the presence of Judges on the Council, Sir Charles Wood said :—"Lord Canning strongly recommends that the Council should hold its meetings in different parts of India, for the purpose of obtaining at times the assistance of those Native Chiefs and noblemen whose attendance at Calcutta would be impossible or irksome to themselves. I do not propose that Judges *ex officio* shall have seats in the legislature; but I do not preclude the Governor-General from summoning one of their number if he chooses. They were useful members of a body meeting as a Committee for the purpose of discussing and framing laws, but I think it is inexpedient and imcompatible with their functions that they should belong to a body partaking in any degree of a popular character. . . . . I have no intention to make this Council a debating Society. I wish, to quote an expression of Sir Lawrence Peel, to render them a body for making laws. The Council of the Governor-General, with these additional members, will have power to pass laws affecting the whole of India, and will have a supreme and concurrent power with the minor legislative bodies which I propose to establish in the Presidencies and in other parts of India." As regards the sphere of Local Councils, Sir Charles Wood said :—"It is obviously necessary that these bodies should not be empowered to legislate on subjects which I may call of Indian rather than of local importance. . . . By this means, while we shall attain a general uniformity of legislation, with a sufficient diversity for the differences of each part of India, we shall, I hope, adapt the system to the wants of particular localities."

Cowell remarks :—"The events which immediately led to the passing of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, were the differences which arose between the Supreme Government and the Government of Madras on the Income Tax Bill; the doubts which had been raised as to the validity of laws introduced into Non-Regulation Provinces without enactment by the Legislative Council; and the address of the Legislative Council for the communication to it of certain correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Supreme Government of India." It will be seen, from what has been stated above, that the real reasons were deeper, namely, (1) that a single Council was utterly unable to legislate for the whole of India; and (2), certain Members of the Council had tried to arrogate for it Parliamentary functions, which threatened to endanger the safety and welfare of the Empire.

The present year (1889) has seen the introduction of a system of interpellation under restrictions. The Budget is also to form the subject of discussion.

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The Legislative Council.

The Governor-General in Council has power to make rules for the conduct of business at meetings of the Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations, and such rules may from time to time be altered at legislative meetings, subject to the assent of the Governor-General. Any such rule may be disallowed by the Secretary of State in Council. *

The Governor-General in Council also appoints the times and places of meeting of the Council.

At every legislative meeting of the Council, the Governor-General or the President or some ordinary member of Council, and six or more other members, ordinary or additional, must be present. In the case of a difference of opinion, where there is an equality of votes, the member presiding has two votes or the casting vote. †

Extent of Legislative Power. ‡

The Governor-General in Council has power at legislative meetings to make laws (and to repeal, amend or alter the same) :—

(1.) For all persons, British or Native, foreigners or others, for all Courts of Justice, and for all places and things whatever, within the Indian territories.

(2.) For all servants of the Government of India and for all British subjects of Her Majesty within Native States.

(3.) For all Native Indian subjects of Her Majesty outside and beyond as well as inside India.

But he was no power to make any law which shall repeal or in any way affect—(*a*) the Indian Councils Act or any other Act of Parliament in any wise affecting Her Majesty's Indian territories, or the inhabitants thereof ; or *(b)*, any Act enabling the Secretary of State in Council to raise money in the United Kingdom for the Government of India ; or *(c)*, any Act for punishing mutiny and desertion in Her Majesty's Army, but subject to the power to make Articles of War for the native army ; or *(d)*, which may affect the authority of Parliament, [or the constitution and rights of the East India Company,] or any part of the unwritten laws or constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown of

* 24 and 25 Vict., c. 67, s. 18.
† *Id.* s. 15.
‡ *Id.* s. 22 ; 28 Vic., c. 17, s. 1 ; 29 and 33 Vic. c. 89 s 1.

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the United Kingdom, or the sovereignty or dominion of the Crown over any part of the said territories. *

In order to prevent the legislature from interfering with the functions of the Executive Government, or meddling in matters which are not connected with the special duties of legislation, it is enacted by Section 19 of the Act, that no business is to be transacted at any Legislative Meeting except the consideration and enactment of measures introduced into the Council for the purpose of such enactment.

No Member of the Council may introduce, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, any measure affecting†—

(1.) The public debt or public revenues of India.
(2.) The religion or religious rights and usages of any class of Her Majesty's subjects in India.
(3.) The discipline or maintenance of any part of Her Majesty's Military or Naval forces.
(4.) The relations of the Government with foreign Princes or States.

Assent to, and force of laws.

After a law has been made, the Governor-General, whether he was or was not present in Council at the making thereof, may declare that he assents to the same, or that he withholds his assent to the same, or that he reserves the same for the signification of the pleasure of Her Majesty thereon. No such law can have validity until the Governor-General has declared his assent to the same, or (in the case of a law so reserved as aforesaid) until Her Majesty has signified her assent to the same to the Governor-General through the Secretary of State for India in Council. ‡

When any law has been assented to by the Viceroy, he shall transmit to the Secretary of State for India an authentic copy thereof. Her Majesty may signify, through the Secretary of State in Council, her disallowance of such law; and such disallowance has the effect of making the law void from the day on which the Governor-General makes it known, by proclamation or by signification to his Council, that he has received the notification of such disallowance by Her Majesty. § The usual practice is for the Secretary of State to send a despatch intimating that the Act has been considered in Council, and will be left to its operation. If, however, such a despatch is not received for a period of two months, it is presumed that the Act has been assented to.

No law made by the Governor-General in Council (subject to the power of disallowance above-mentioned) shall be deemed

* 24 and 25 Vic., c. 67, s, 22.
† *id.* s. 19.
‡ 24 and 25 Vic, c. 67, s. 20.
§ *id.* s. 21.

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invalid by reason only that it affects the prerogative of the Crown. * All laws are of the same force and effect within and throughout the Indian territories as any Act of Parliament would or ought to be within the same territories, and shall be taken notice of by all Courts of Justice in the same manner as any public Act of Parliament. †

Doubts had been entertained as to the validity of rules, laws, and regulations made from time to time for the "Non-Regulation Provinces" on the ground of their not having been made at regular meetings in conformity with the provisions of the Statutes 3 and 4, Will. IV, c. 85, and 16 and 17 Vic., c. 95; and therefore such laws were declared valid by Section 25 of the Councils Act.

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* 24 and 25 Vict., c. 67, s. 24. | † 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 85, s. 45.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

[*To be continued.*]

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ART. XII.—THEOLATRY AND ANTHROPOLATRY: OR A CHRISTIAN'S VIEW OF POSITIVISM.

PART I.

The Truth about the Bible.

"What man knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of a man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man but the spirit of God."—I Cor. II, 11.

ONE of the subjects proposed for discussion at the recent Church Congress in England was, "The recognition of Historical and Scientific criticisms of the old Testament."

The Head Master of Clifton re-stated the question as being, "How far ought the clergy to tell the truth about the Bible." Another member of the Congress, speaking of "Positivism, its Truth and its Fallacies," observed, regarding Secularists, that there were not many who have become such from any reasoned-out conviction as to the Christianity of the New Testament. "They gave one the impression of having been repelled by dogmas they thought untrue, and practices they held inhuman, and which, unhappily, they supposed to be Christianity, or at least, inseparable from it." The Bible, said Dr. Cheyne, Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Scripture, Oxford, "has been so long presented uncritically and irrationally, that it will require immense patience and energy to undo the mischief." It is necessary, he continued, to show those who have been repelled by false teaching, "that the Church is not committed to any definite system of Bible interpretation, and that essential Christian truth is not endangered by true scientific criticism."

(2.) On this point the Head Master of Clifton observed, that much "depends on the promptitude and completeness with which we occupy the new regions of human learning. When the antipodes were first spoken of, they were denounced by the Pope; now we colonise them, and they contribute to our national defence. Let us do the same with these new regions of learning." He referred to Agassiz's saying—"Every new scientific truth passes through three stages—first, people say it is false; then, that it is contrary to religion; and lastly, that everyone knew it before. Let us skip the second stage at all events. No scientific result can be contrary to religion."

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This stands to reason when we consider that knowledge can only come from, and must lead to, God. All can understand the error of the Moslem who destroyed the Alexandrian Library, on the ground that whatever the books contained, if true, could be found in the Koran, and if not found in the Koran, could not be true.

(3.) In so far as the collection of writings which we call the Bible affords us knowledge, we can only profit thereby when, as the Rev. J. A. Wilson (Head Master of Clifton) said, we have "got rid of the fictitious inspirations of infallible accuracy and superhuman authorship"; when we recognize that "it betrays both human fallibility and human bias"; that "its morality is only that of the noblest spirits of its time"; and that "its commands are relative, its revelation progressive." "In a Divine Book," writes M. Renan, "all is true, and, it being impossible that two contradictions should be true at once, there ought to be no contradictions in it." No doubt such was the decree of the Council of Trent,—that all is true even in the Vulgate Latin edition of the Scriptures. No doubt, also, that even this decree is less stringent than some Protestant confessions. But the difficulty arises only out of the theory of verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. Admitting that much of those writings (Protestants do not admit it in the case of all) was produced under Divine inspiration, it was inspiration breathed into "earthen vessels." Who can fail to recognize the Divine inspiration in the Psalms? And yet who does not see in them also much that is human, something even that is cruel and vindictive?

(4.) M. Renan has told us, in his "Recollections of my Childhood and Youth," that it was not by the doctrines of Christianity that he was driven to sever his connection therewith, but by the Bible. "If I could have believed in the truth of theology and the Bible, none of the doctrines of the *Syllabus* would have caused me the least trouble. My reasons were entirely philological and critical, and in no sense metaphysical, political, or moral." From its contradictions, for instance those of the fourth Gospel and the Synoptics, M. Renan infers that the Bible is not Divine. Is it necessary, however, that all our hopes and all our faith should depend on the infallibility of the Bible, so that, if this be shaken, nothing remains for us but to go out into the wilderness of Agnosticism? May we not say, on the contrary, that religion is independent of written documents, and that even in reducing the Bible to a purely human level,—were that inevitable, we need not lose, but may gain in freedom from superstitious reverence for the letter, while we give ourselves to be led and informed by the Spirit?

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(5.) Which is the sadder spectacle—the student of divine mysteries recoiling before phenomena, because not within his experience, or stumbling at words, notwithstanding his experience? The former matter will be dealt with hereafter;* as to the latter, does not all experience teach that the imperfections of human language, expression, and ideas must be ever borne in mind? How is Divine inspiration to find adequate expression through a human medium? That God has inspired men to make him known is the belief of all Christians. He is so inspiring them at the present day, and revelation progresses from Moses to Darwin. But, as observed by the Bishop of Manchester, President of the Church Congress, as soon as the question is further asked, "What is the inspiration," we begin to differ. The Revd. J. M. Wilson, in his Bristol lectures, has clearly brought out the point, that definitions of inspiration are needless when it is felt that the revelation of God, like His Kingdom, "is not in word but in power."

(6.) Moreover, apart from the question of inspiration of the writings called Holy Scriptures, is the question of authenticity. Before rejecting, like M. Renan, Christianity on the ground that the Scriptures cannot be inspired because contradictory, should it not be considered how far those writings are authentic? The Reformed Church has already rejected as unauthentic much which the Roman Church includes in the Canon. The process of criticism now being carried on by Dr. Cheyne, Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Scripture, Oxford, by Professor Driver, and others, will doubtless result in still further sifting. To quote Dr. Cheyne—"There is a broad stream of critical tendency, and One 'who sitteth above' is guiding it. . . . . Already the Old Testament is transfigured to those who regard it historically. . . . . All things, including even the subversion of traditional opinions, 'work together for good' to the Church as well as to its members." We know, writes the Rev. R. E. Bartlett, "that a large number of writings of the same kind with the canonical books, was in circulation" (in the early Church) "and that only gradually, and by a kind of survival of the fittest, was a selection made of those which should be esteemed authoritative. We know that some of our present canonical writings were among the questioned, when the rest had been for some time acknowledged; and we know that the Apocalypse in particular, so late as the fourth century, was esteemed spurious by the majority of the Churches of Asia Minor."

(7.) It is of immense moment to Christianity that illusions which are the strength of infidelity should be dispelled; that the clergy should, in the words of the Head Master of Clifton, "speak the truth about the Bible."

* See Part II.

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It has been pertinently remarked that the authority and immunity from error of the Reformed or Roman Canons of Scripture can only be assumed on one of two grounds;—either—

(*a.*) The Church is supernaturally inspired and guarded from error in the selection of the sacred books: In this case we must ask which Church? for the Roman, Greek, and Reformed Churches differ in this selection; or—

(*b.*) The Church of the first four centuries possessed certain qualifications, which we now lack, for discriminating between writings authoritative or unauthoritative, inspired or uninspired. For nowhere does the Bible itself make any formal claim to inspiration (2 Timothy, III., 16, referring at the utmost to the Books of the old Covenant) and if it did, it would be absurd to argue in a circle from the infallibility of the Bible to its inspiration, and from its inspiration to its infallibility.

(8.) Most Protestant Christians of the present day will probably agree, that the Church is not supernaturally inspired and guarded from error in the selection of the sacred books. The rejection of part of the Roman Canon by the Reformed Church admits this. That the Church is, nevertheless, under Divine guidance, follows from our Lord's promise:—"When the spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all the truth." We may assume then, with a writer in the Expositor, that "this guidance is to help man, not so much to know facts and to discern between Canonical and Apocryphal books, as to know Christ and to discern between good and evil." (He refers, of course, to knowledge as immediately concerning the matter under discussion, for, admitting the existence of God, it follows that scientific discoveries of His truths must also be under guidance of His spirit.) When M. Renan rejected Christianity—because of contradictions in the Bible—it was over a block of men's raising that he stumbled: the decree pronouncing sacred every word of the Roman Canon,—"*libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus.*" And yet he must have known that the Canon was not generally recognized till about the close of the fourth century. He could have judged how far, in those days of oral tradition and slow painful manuscript,—when few could read and criticism was unknown,—errors, losses, interpolations, even forgeries, would, in this interval, vitiate records originally authentic. He was doubtless aware of the great discrepancies even in the accepted manuscripts on which the existing Canon is based. How could he, then, stake all his hopes and faith on the infallibility of that Canon? How can Christians feel any shock to their faith in recognising that the Bible is not the very voice of God, but its echo, caught and repeated imperfectly by men?

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(9.) To what, it has been asked, "has the infallible authority of scripture led us hitherto?" Men have agreed that whatever is revealed in Scripture is true. But where is the agreement as to what is revealed in Scripture? "For those bound by the 'believe all or nothing' system of the Roman Church, there may result, from these conclusions, some loosening of belief, some drifting away from old moorings into unknown seas." But, for the Protestant, the letter will be replaced by the spirit, and a more genuine and living faith will spring from temporary unsettlement and perplexity. He who is drawn to love Christ by the love wherewith He hath loved us, may dispense with any theory of Scripture infallibility. He fears no criticism. He knows that all truth is connected with God, and therefore, ultimately reconcilable. What is not true and reconcilable with known truth, he is thankful to get rid of. Criticism, he knows, must lead to this; instead, therefore, of despairing of truth, like M. Renan, because of criticism, he seeks it more eagerly with criticism's aid. Science, he knows, must lead to this; and therefore he welcomes the discoveries of science regarding the relation of God to the world.

(10.) But the Christian who will thus seek truth must throw off the bondage of tradition. He must think for himself, instead of delivering himself over, mind and conscience, to any dogmas of any Church. The most striking chapters in Professor Drummond's great work on "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," are perhaps, as the "Expositor" points out, those on Parasitism and Semi-Parasitism. The parasite in nature is that which breaks that law of evolution, "Thou shalt evolve, thou shall develop all thy faculties to the full, thou shalt attain to the highest conceivable perfection of thy race and so perfect thy race." The penalty of disobedience is degeneration, such as has befallen that semi-parasite, the hermit crab, in the atrophy of many of its faculties;—such as reduces real parasites, like the *sacculina* which lives on the hermit crab, to mere sacs, absorbing nourishment and laying eggs.

(11.) "No more perfect or more sad example of semi-parasitism," writes Professor Drummond, "exists than in the case of those illiterate thousands who, scattered everywhere throughout the habitable globe, swell the lower ranks of the Church of Rome. . . . . Roman Catholicism offers to the masses a molluscan shell. They have simply to shelter themselves within its pale, and they are 'safe.' But what is this 'safe'? It is an external safety, the safety of an institution." And again "There is no stronger evidence of the inborn parasitic tendency in man, in things religious, than the absolute complacency with which even cultured men will hand over

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their eternal interests to the care of a Church." Similar is the case, as the Professor points out, of the parasite which seeks its shelter in systems of theology. "The same thing that makes men take refuge in the Church of Rome, makes them take refuge in a set of dogmas Infallibility meets the deepest desire of man, but meets it in the most fatal form. Men deal with the hunger after truth in two ways: First, by unbelief which crushes it by blind force; or, secondly, by resorting to some external source credited with infallibility—which lulls it to sleep by blind faith. The effect of a doctrinal theology is the effect of infallibility, and the wholesale belief in such a system, however accurate it may be—grant even that it were infallible—is not faith, though it always gets that name It is mere credulity. It is a complacent and idle rest upon authority, not a hard-earned, self-obtained, personal possession."

(12.) In his book "The Mystery of God," Mr. Vincent Tymms points out the mischief done by dogmatism in causing "mistaken ideas of the nature of Christian faith and of its true relation to knowledge which can be scientifically verified. To multitudes in our day, faith is only a synonym for credulity. . . . . It must be confessed that professedly Christian bodies are mainly responsible for this prevalent mistake." As he points out, if we turn for information to the Bible "we find no sanction for an imperious dogmatism in any of its books. . . . . Christ said little about the right of private judgment, but this was because He raised the question into a higher region. He taught, not merely that men have a right to use their faculties independently in the pursuit of truth, but that it is their duty to do so, and that they are responsible to God for the due discharge of this most primary obligation;" and herein, of course, Christ's teaching accords with the analogy of that nature of which he is Creator, with that law of evolution before quoted from Professor Drummond, which prescribes the development of all faculties to the full.

(13.) Moreover it has been indicated to us that these faculties are to be used for the discovery of truth from the analogy of nature, because "the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." We are bound to go to that source, and to accept with thankfulness what science can reveal to us of God's glory. In the words of Professor Drummond—"We have truth in nature as it came from God, and it has to be read with the same unbiassed mind, the same open eye, the same faith, and the same reverence, as all other revelation." And again it is true that "Theology is searching on every hand for another echo of the voice of which

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Revelation also is the echo, that out of the mouths of two witnesses its truths should be established. That other echo can only come from nature. Hitherto its voice has been muffled. But now that science has made the world around articulate, it speaks to religion with a two-fold purpose. In the first place it offers to corroborate theology, in the second, to purify it."

PART II.

The Law of Miracles.

"I report as a man may of God's work—all's Love, yet all's Law."

(14). It has just been said that the Christian welcomes the discoveries of science regarding the relation of God to the world. How can it be otherwise? The Bishop of Sydney, preaching lately at Westminister Abbey, remarked that man cannot acquiesce in a vague reverence for some absolute being unknown and unknowable. "Now, as in the days of the Psalmist, men thirst for a God, whom we may at least know to be a 'living God.' He was speaking on the text "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." He said that Christianity seeks that eternal life which our Lord declared to consist —not in the fear of God or in the love of God, but in *the knowledge* of God, from which the fear (or love) must follow. Such Christianity "will never consent to be stiffened into a system "of morality, or sublimed into an enthusiastic sentiment." It is by an imperious necessity that, as the literature of all ages shows, men are driven on to search into this knowledge. "Whether we believe in a Gospel or not," continued the Bishop, "it stands to reason that all truths, whether written in the "book of nature or in the book of humanity, must be manifesta- "tions in some sort of the Supreme and Absolute Being from "which all has proceeded." But the searcher after God must use the requisite means. Observation, analogy, induction, the marvellous powers of the trained and disciplined imagination will carry him but a little way without that faculty of intuition which is God-given—not to the wise and prudent only, but unto babes, and cultivated by meditation and prayer. "As no man who confines himself to reasoning from inorganic force and matter can solve the problems of organic life; as no man can rightly measure the spiritual nature of humanity by principles derived from the lower realms of being, so I believe" (the Bishop of Sydney is speaking) "that man can never find God if he pursues his search only in the light of the pure intellect, and deliberately puts aside the deeper insight of the conscience and the spirit."

(15). There is confessedly a point beyond which scientific

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methods cannot go. Science, says Professor Drummond, has looked behind the phenomena which we see, and it declares that there is something there; it cannot tell what, but there is something. Independent observers trace back these various phenomena of the universe on lines all converging towards some vanishing point; as Tennyson writes, "sloping through "darkness up to God." They carry them back step by step to that boundary line where the visible touches the invisible. There they perforce stop, though the vivid description of what they see there brings us almost into perception of the hidden hand beyond. Take, for instance, Professor Huxley's account of how he observed, under the microscope, the substance in the water-newt's egg gradually taking the salamandrine form as if under the touch of a hidden artist moulding the shape with a plan before him. As Mr. Herbert Spencer says, "The consciousness of an inscrutable power manifested to us through all phenomena has been growing ever clearer, and must eventually be freed from its imperfections. The certainty that on the one hand such a power exists, while on the other hand its nature transcends intuition" (what can Mr. Herbert Spencer know of intuition, a faculty born of Love and Faith, and cultivated by prayer?) "and is beyond imagination, is the certainty towards which all intelligence has from the first been progressing. To this conclusion science inevitably arrives as it reaches its confines; while to this conclusion, religion is irresistibly driven by criticism."

(16.) Let us suppose, writes Dr. Wace, "what is not yet the case, that science has at length revealed to us the whole natural process by which species has passed into species, and by which man himself was developed. Let us imagine that the whole vast and infinite development lies before us, from its imperceptible beginning to its brilliant close. Let us suppose the laws now governing the mechanism of the workshop of nature to be at last fully known. This only leads us up a step nearer to the knowledge of Him who designed those laws." Let us suppose it to be known, that in the whole past history and development of so much of the universe as we can observe, those laws, once originated, have been left to work automatically. What foundation does this afford for the assumption that the creator of existing methods should not employ other methods to control and modify these? Does not, indeed, the analogy of nature as we know it—which shows each law to be controlled and modified by a higher law in an ascending series, each such interference appearing an irregularity until the higher law is understood—does not this analogy prepare us to accept the appearance of other such methods hitherto unrecognized?

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(17.) Vincent Tymms, in his "Mystery of God," points out the weakness of the most forcible argument ever framed against the probability of miracles—namely that based on the doctrine of continuity. If laws of nature are interfered with, say the sceptics, everything is rendered uncertain, harmony and order disappear, the universe is no longer the domain of a God true and faithful in all his works. But Mr. Tymms shows that it is absurd to make the faithfulness of God depend on the certainty of man as to God's doings; "uncertainty is the law of our being, so that literally we cannot tell what a day or an hour may bring forth." The very laws of the motion of the heavenly bodies are not certain, according to our limited comprehension; "every day we live the earth takes a little longer to revolve upon its axis than it did the day before." Not that this really shows confusion or abrogation of laws, it only shows our ignorance of laws. It shows that the order of the universe is too vast and complex for man's mind to master—at present at any rate. It shows that the laws we know are modified by laws which we do not know, and that it is absurd to call any alleged phenomenon miraculous, or supernatural and incredible, merely because it does not accord with our experience of nature's laws. The authors of "The Unseen Universe" have shown that the laws which we know, are after all only approximate expressions of truth. Eventually discrepancies are observed in them which, as pointed out in Herschel's "Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy," lead on to the knowledge of higher laws. At first, however, these discrepancies are utterly discredited;—as those so-called miracles are, the study of which will lead us to discovery of the law of faith as an all-controlling power.

(18.) In the present advanced state of science it is unscientific to talk of the necessity of any law. To quote Professor Huxley:—

"I suppose if there be an 'iron law,' it is that of gravitation, and if there be a physical necessity, it is that a stone, unsupported, must fall to the ground. But what is all that we really know regarding the latter phenomenon? Simply that in all human experience stones have fallen to the ground under these conditions; that we have not the smallest reason for believing that any stone so circumstanced will not fall to the ground, and that we have, on the contrary, every reason to believe that it will so fall. It is very convenient to indicate that all the conditions of belief have been fulfilled in this case, by calling the statement, that unsupported stones will fall to the ground, 'a law of nature.' But when, as commonly happens, we change 'will' into 'must,' we introduce an idea of necessity which most assuredly does not lie in the observed facts, and

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has no warranty that I can discern elsewhere. For my part I utterly repudiate and anathematise the intruder. 'Fact' I know, and 'law' I know, but, what is this 'necessity,' save an empty shadow of my own mind's throwing?"

(19.) In short the law of gravitation, the most clearly demonstrated of all laws, is only the result of our exceedingly limited experience. For all we know to the contrary, it may be controlled and modified by a higher law; certainly there is no *necessity* about the law of gravitation. Indeed, as a fact, it *is* modified by some less fully understood law of repulsion, so far as the great bodies of the planetary system, or the atoms which compose all substances in nature are concerned. As pointed out in 'The Unseen Universe': "Something analogous to the principle of continuity prevents us from supposing that we can ever arrive at the ultimate expression of truth, on any, however limited, subject. . . . It is on this account that we welcome all attempts to modify the expression of the law of gravitation, which, as our knowledge of it stands at present, seems to present too much of the appearance of an absolute and final truth." The fact is that what we call the supernatural, might be more reasonably called the super-experimental. It is the name we give to whatever is beyond our limited experience, to whatever is not in accordance with such laws as we know. This ignorance is comparative; what is supernatural to one generation, is explained and understood to be natural by the next. The law under which it occurs is discovered, and it ceases to be miraculous. It is not, perhaps, a bold assumption, that there is nothing supernatural; that the operations of the All-wise and Almighty, which we do not understand, may be judged, by the analogy of those which we do understand, to be always harmonious, always in order, always in accordance with laws, although they may be laws still beyond our ken.

(20.) As there is no reason why we should find a stumbling block in the inaccuracies, contradictions, and other indications of human character in the collection of human writings called the Bible, so there is no reason that we should should be repelled by the apparent supernaturalness of the phenomena which are claimed as its own evidences by Christianity. We may assume that any facts which we learn on good evidence, and which are inexplicable according to our present knowledge, really occurred in accordance with laws of the Almighty which we call natural laws. To call them supernatural or miraculous, merely means that they are not in accordance with our limited human experience of those laws. Granting that the mighty works of our Lord and His apostles are established upon such evidence as we would accept in the

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case of works not called supernatural, it seems illogical to doubt them merely because we do not understand the laws in accordance with which they were achieved. Signs and wonders they will remain, even after we understand those laws, because the laws under which they were achieved are not at present in our power to set in motion. But, supposing that faith and love are eventually understood to be physical forces like electricity, we shall be as little sceptical regarding their results, because it is not given to us to wield them, as we are doubtful of the powers of the gymnotus. And eventually why should we not wield them? Professor Tyndall asks why a miracle should not be "the result of expanded human power." Why not, indeed? The Professor is arguing against the necessity of inferring Christ's divinity from his miracles, and we may certainly agree with him in seeing in Christ a *man* performing works which His brethren can also perform, as Christ expressly said that they could, (and as we know in fact that they did) by using the same forces of love and faith which he employed. To adopt the Professor's words, Christ "antedated the humanity of the future; as a mighty tidal wave leaves high upon the beach a mark which by and by becomes the general level of the ocean."

(21.) Science has avowedly an open mind. Its experience accords with the Master's assertion, that "with God all things are possible." Hitherto its attention has been turned rather to physical than to moral phenomena; as regards the former, at any rate, science must be ready to accept upon sufficient testimony facts which are not generally evident to the senses. Now one of the subjects pressing for investigation is that form of magnetic power known as psychic force and will-power. Our knowledge of the laws of electricity and magnetism is still in its infancy, and of personal magnetism we as yet know nothing. That such a form of magnetic force exists can hardly now be doubted. Remarkable phenomena of hypnotism have lately been under investigation at Paris, but no serious attempt has yet been made to examine the effect of will-power on matter. Nevertheless this effect, in the shape of moving bodies without physical contact, is established on evidence such as would suffice in the case of facts not regarded as phenomenal. Of the physical effects of certain mental conditions there can be equally little doubt. A large portion of Dr. Sprenger's great work on Mahomed is devoted to the consideration of these effects. In fact the physical results arising from strong efforts of will, imagination, and belief, are notorious and beyond dispute. It can hardly be doubted that we are approaching the discovery of laws of nature, regarding the relations between mind and matter, which will clear up much hitherto

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discredited or unexplained in history, both European and Asiatic.

(22.) We have been assured by a great historic character, a man confessedly perfect, one who spake as never man spake, and whose short career has revolutionised the world, that there do exist such laws regarding the relation between mind and matter. He said that there is inherent in man a form of psychic force called Faith, and that there are no limits to that power. He indicated the existence of a law whereby this force over-rules all other laws. We learn from witnesses, whom there are no grounds for discrediting, that this law was demonstrated again and again in the most striking manner, not by the Master only, but by disciples whom association with him had endowed with the force of faith in a supreme degree. We gather also from their reports that the Master gave it to be understood that this force is derived from love:—that it is a law that perfect love of God affords that immeasurable power of faith which can control all the laws of the universe.

There should be no more difficulty in accepting the existence of such a force than in accepting the existence of a force of repulsion, or the hypothesis of atoms, or that of an ethereal medium; for neither of which latter, as pointed out in 'The Unseen Universe,' "have we the direct evidence of our senses, but which have nevertheless been adopted as affording the best explanation of the phenomena of the visible universe." We know that there must exist some such force as repulsion to keep atoms apart, but we have no evident exhibition of it; it cannot yet be demonstrated, nor its laws understood, though they doubtless will be so in time. Science is progressive. We see the effects of the force of gravitation every day, and in some degree we understand its law. The effects of some forms of electricity are now seen as such—not as mere incomprehensible phenomena,—and we are beginning to have some idea of its laws. More obscure effects of electricity or magnetism are now beginning to be understood as such, and their connection with known laws will doubtless in time be traced. Possibly when attention is turned to the yet more obscure forms of that power, we shall discover some connection between them and the law stated by the Lord Jesus. Progressive discoveries of the naturalness of what to ignorance seems supernatural, may fairly lead us to anticipate the eventual apprehension of that law. Meanwhile there is no reason why evidence regarding the phenomena of the force called faith should receive less respect than evidence regarding other phenomena. There is everything in the character of the witnesses to the mighty works of our Lord and his apostles to entitle their evidence to respect. When a man,

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such as Jesus of Nazareth is admitted to have been, states with reiteration a law accounting for those mighty works, that law certainly deserves the most respectful attention, even of those who regard him as a mere human being, and the closest investigation which Science can afford.

(23.) In short, as observed by the Duke of Argyll, if we once "admit that there is a Being who, irrespective of any theory as to the relation in which the laws of nature stand to His own will, has at least an infinite knowledge of those laws, and an infinite power of putting them to use, then miracles lose every element of inconceivability. In respect to the greatest and highest of all, that restoration of the breath of life which is not more mysterious than its original gift—there is no answer to the question which Paul asks—"Why should it be thought a thing incredible by you that God "should raise the dead?"

PART III.

The evolution of the Christian.

The Desire of the moth for the star,
Of the night for the morrow;
The devotion to something afar
From the sphere of our sorrow.

(24.) Mr. Vincent Tymms has pointed out a remarkable division of labor between the two main classes of objectors to the Christian faith: "Philosophers devolve the examination of Christian testimony upon critical experts, and critics leave the more arduous task of elaborating abstract arguments to philosophers. Thus, neither party accepts the responsibility of establishing a complete case against Christianity . . . Philosophy confesses" (Mill's essays on Religion) "that on abstract grounds the Christian revelation is not incredible, and that its claims can only be decided by evidence; yet it calls on us to renounce faith because criticism is said to have proved the evidences insufficient. Criticism breaks down in its repeated endeavours to destroy the Christian testimony, yet still summons us to relinquish faith, because philosophy has proved the things which it affirms to be natural impossibilities." For instance, Renan asserts "that the Gospels are in part legendary is evident, since they are full of miracles and of the supernatural," whereas Mill admits that, if there be given the "hypothesis of a God who made the world, and in making it had regard . . . to the happiness of his sentient creatures," miracles are possible,—basing the admission on the ground that He who was able to create the universe "may well be thought to have the power to modify it." Thus a critic who accepts the hypothesis stated by Mill is in conflict

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with Mill if he rejects evidence merely because it asserts the occurrence of miracles. Indeed it must be opposed to the spirit of fair inquiry to refuse, like Strauss, to admit any such testimony because, "allowing the witnesses the best character, it is impossible to conceive a case in which the investigator of history will not find it more probable, beyond all comparison, that he has to deal with an untrue account than with a miraculous act." That this sort of pre-possession is unscientific is admitted by Mill, when he says that "divine interference with nature could be proved if we had the same sort of evidence for it which we have for human interferences"; and again, "when the evidence on which an opinion rests is equal to that upon which the whole conduct and safety of our lives is founded, we need ask no further. Objections which apply equally to all evidence are valid against none. They only prove abstract fallibility."

(25.) It only remains, then, to weigh the value of the testimony—distinguishing between the phenomena attested and the inference drawn. The witness can only speak to the evidence of his senses. That this evidence has constantly to be corrected by the testimony of other observers, goes of course without saying, though objectors seem frequently to forget it;—we deny for instance, the witness of our eyes that the sun rises and sets. But, as Mill says, "objections which apply equally to all evidence are valid against none"—though the recollection of this fallibility should make us very chary of questioning attested facts on the evidence of our own senses. When Hume says that no evidence whatever could suffice to render a miracle credible, because such are contrary to "the uniform experience of mankind," he simply puts out of court that portion of mankind who testify to miracles. But Mill comes to a very different conclusion; "all the evidence alleged in favour of any miracle ought to be reckoned as counter-evidence in refutation of the ground on which it is asserted that miracles ought to be disbelieved. The question can only be stated fairly as depending on a balance of evidence." Nor does this quite represent the case. There can be no 'balance' between affirmative and negative evidence. A man is convicted on direct evidence of murder, and no amount of negative evidence of people who did not see him commit it, and who consider from their uniform experience that he is incapable of such a crime, will avail to save him. Mill should have said that "the question can only be stated fairly as depending on the credibility of the witnesses."

(26.) As pointed out by Mr. Vincent Tymms, Hume falls into a fallacy in extending to all the alleged miracles of the Bible, Tillotson's argument against transubstantiation. Mr.

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Tymms writes, "the dogma of the real (or carnal) presence *does* contradict our senses. The senses of every human being who beholds the mass performed tell him that the bread and wine show no signs of alteration; even a chemist can find no accident of property removed or added. . . . But what alleged miracle of Scripture can be charged with contradicting our senses or the senses of the original observers? . . . Was the widow of Nain asked to believe that she had her son alive again while his body lay stark and stiff upon the bier? Did the disciples convulse Jerusalem by saying 'Jesus is risen' in spite of the production of his mangled and decaying body by the rulers and priests?" Evidently, then, Tillotson's argument. "that the evidence of our senses is stronger than, and must be believed in preference to any testimony," could not be pressed into Hume's service. Tillotson's argument is worthless,—as before said we have constantly to accept testimony against the evidence of our senses, for instance the movement of the earth. At any rate it applied to a case quite opposite to that of miracles attested *on the evidence of the senses of the observers.* Mr. Tymms points out that "Christian witnesses say, that certain marvellous physical phenomena appeared to them which no known physical causes could produce. The Romish Church says there are no physical phenomena to be observed, but in spite of that, a physical change has taken place."

(27.) The Science of the present day will not certainly countenance the idea that, because a reported phenomenon cannot be understood, it must be regarded as an illusion or a fraud. The survival of an animal locked up in a deposit for thirty thousand years cannot be understood, but it has occurred. On what reasonable ground, it has been asked, "can the past experience of mankind be regarded as of less value than the present experience?" It can only be got rid of by impugning the veracity of the witnesses. But present experience confirms them with ample instance of the control of ordinary known laws by the higher law of the power of faith. It cannot be understood how one born blind should be restored to light by faith. The lack of visual power results by a known law on the absence of certain conditions required for that power, and this law is supposed to be necessary. Professor Huxley has said that no law is necessary; at any rate the law referred to is no more necessary than the law that a man's character is hereditary and determinate; that it comes to him from his progenitors and is determined by his surroundings. Nevertheless it is a matter of every day experience that the character of men is completely changed by faith in Christ, and that light is thus poured in.

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upon the soul born blind. There are no degrees in the miraculous. Hume truly said "the raising of a house or a ship into the air is a visible miracle. The raising of a feather, when the wind wants ever so little of a force requisite for that purpose, is as real a miracle, though not so sensible with regard to us." This disposes at any rate of Theistic objections to miracles. As Mr. Tymms writes, "the least faith in a prayer-answering God involves the same philosophic and scientific difficulties as the inspiration of a prophet or the resurrection of Christ."

(28.) The needlessness of such 'philosophic difficulties' has been already seen. Mill has been quoted as admitting that, given a certain hypothesis of God, He may well be thought to have the power of modifying his own creation. Nevertheless he observes that, assuming as a fact the existence and providence of God, the whole of our observation of nature proves to us by incontrovertible evidence that the rule of his government is by means of secondary causes; that all facts, or at least all physical facts, follow uniformly upon given physical conditions, and never occur but when the appropriate collection of physical conditions is realised." To this Mr. Tymms aptly replies that "science is perfectly familiar with physical facts which had no such antecedent physical conditions as are generally observed to be necessary . . . . . Coming down to things less remote, the first particle of living matter was a physical fact without the now invariable antecedent condition of previous physical life. This first bit of bioplasm must have proceeded from not living matter, either by creation or by evolution, but *in either case* the now invariable physical antecedents were confessedly not there. "In fact, the evolution of the organic from the inorganic kingdom is just as catastrophic and miraculous as the raising of Lazarus, or the 'new birth.'" Indeed, as pointed out by Professor Drummond, the doctrine of continuity, on which the so-called miraculous has been persistently assailed, is one which science has had to abandon. "Biogenesis stands in the way of some forms of evolution with such stern persistency, that the assaults upon this law, for number and thoroughness, have been unparalled. But as we have seen, it has stood the test. Nature, to the modern eye, stands broken in two. The physical laws may explain the inorganic world; the biological laws may account for the development of the organic. But of the point where they meet, of the strange borderland between the dead and the living, science is silent. It is as if God had placed everything in earth and heaven in the hands of nature, but reserved a point at the genesis of life for his direct appearing." There is, in fact, a gulf fixed between the inorganic and the organic world, such as

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analogy and experience shows us to exist between the latter, in its highest development, man, and the spiritual world attained in the new birth. These gulfs cannot be bridged by automatic or spontaneous evolution. There is a breach of continuity to be spanned only by some higher evolutionary law of the Creator than any we know or can conceive. The same applies to science itself, the growth of which, as Tyndall says, is organic. In this product of nature also there is solution of continuity, to be bridged only by the revelation of God its author.

(29). In short, the whole question of miracles turns on the credibility of the witnesses who attest them. Evidence is evidence, upon whatever subject, and the concurrent testimony of those who have experience of the laws of faith and love is entitled to weight. It may not be our experience, it may even conflict with what our limited experience knows of other laws, but then it is because of our limited experience of those other laws that we admit, with Professor Huxley, that there is no "necessity" in them. It is an understood law that certain conditions are necessary to the maintenance of life, but a toad comes out of a rock and brings his experience of thirty thousand years to contradict the received views on this subject. Moreover, before our eyes, men dispense with the means of supporting life, for periods which are incompatible with all known laws. Evidently, then, our conception of the laws governing the maintenance of physical life must be re-considered. We must, for instance, regard with more respect the evidence of Doctor Honigberger regarding Maharaja Runjit Singh's *fakír*, of whose voluntary suspension of the functions of life, of whose burial, and resuscitation after many weeks, the Doctor was a dispassionate and scientific observer.

(30.) The world is constantly being 'surprised to learn' some new fact beyond its experience, and it yet remains, after each such enlightenment, as indisposed as ever to admit the possibility of other facts beyond its experience. Nevertheless, when we know that we must distrust our very eyes, we can hardly depend much on the efficiency of other senses. These eyes of ours are actually blind to two-thirds of the rays which impinge upon them. The retina is insensible to rays focussed thereon, of such heat as to fuse metals substituted when the eye is removed. Indeed the heat of the sun has been demonstrated to reside mainly in the rays which we cannot see, those which are outside of the seven colours which we can perceive. It has been found by experiment that the energy of the invisible emission is eight times that of the visible. Thus we have learnt by Sir William Herschel's experiments that we are in utter darkness to much, of which it is probable, from other experiments, that lower organisa-

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tions, are sensible. Indeed, it is a matter of every day experience, that we are destitute of perception of impressions which lower organisations can receive—either by known senses possessed by them in a higher degree than by ourselves, or by senses of which we can form no conception. Even amongst ourselves there are inexplicable differences of the power of perception. Some men, for instance, will know of the presence of a cat by a perception as inexplicable by themselves as incomprehensible to others. The well established cases of extraordinary perception of arithmetical processes are inexplicable on any theory. There is, then, nothing to surprise us in the possession by others of a faculty unknown to and even incomprehensible by ourselves. Such faculties are asserted to exist in the form of a perception called intuition, and in the form of a force, probably magnetic, called faith. We may accept these on good evidence; the latter we may study, and investigate its laws—though this power may be as little susceptible of apprehension by us as are other forms of electric force (that of the gymnotus for instance), and its existence less within our experience than that of some of those forms. There is nothing intrinsically impossible in that law of faith-power announced by the Lord Jesus Christ.

(31.) Our arrogant humanity needs to be constantly reminded, not only that it does not yet know everything, but also that it is not yet capable of apprehending all truth. What was said by Professor Stokes in his Presidential address to the British Association, a dozen years ago, is still true. The phenomena of life are still 'a profound mystery', those of the mind 'still more profoundly mysterious.' "Science can be expected to do but little to aid us here, since the instrument of research is itself the object of investigation. It can but enlighten us as to the depths of our ignorance, and lead us to look to a higher aid for that which most nearly concerns our well-being."

We have progressed much certainly. It is, as Professor Tyndall says, "a long way from the Iguanodon and his contemporaries to the President and members of the British Association." Our poetry, our science, our art,—as yet only potential in the fires of bodies less advanced than our earth—are evidences that we are in some degree advanced towards the stature of the fulness of our Creator, the Son of God. Nevertheless, many faculties have yet to be developed before the arm of the Lord can be revealed to us. Again to quote Professor Tyndall, "a time may come when the ultra-scientific region by which we are now enfolded, may offer itself to terrestrial if not to human investigation. Two-thirds

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of the rays emitted by the sun fail to arouse in the eye the sense of vision. The rays exist, but the visual organ requisite for their translation into light does not exist. And so, from this region of darkness and mystery which surrounds us, rays may now be darting which require but the development of the proper intellectual organs to translate them into knowledge as far surpassing ours, as ours surpasses that of the wallowing reptiles which once held possession of this planet."

(32.) Dr. Wace, in an admirable essay upon 'the present position of evolution, and its bearing on the Christian faith,' goes further than even Professor Huxley in scouting the idea of the 'necessity' of any law that we know. His argument is generally that of Mill, quoted in para.: 24. He writes: "The old argument of the Centurion in the Gospel remains unanswerable. If we who are men under authority, finite and imperfect beings, can nevertheless interpose for moral and intelligent ends in the course of nature and of human life, it must be possible for God to exercise a similar interposition." He urges, in support of this, the evidence of the past, which is entitled to as much weight in this as in any other respect. He urges also the analogy of the present—the analogy between the course of human life now and the so-called miraculous interferences stated to have occurred in past times. Assuming the All-wise and Almighty to be also All-love towards the helpless creatures He has brought into existence—which is a natural deduction from the parental love which we see in those creatures, and which must necessarily be derived from their Creator—we must be prepared to accept, by reason as well as belief, our Lord's declaration that the care and the will of our Father in Heaven is exercised over the most insignificant of His creatures, and that we should appeal to Him in every need as a child does to an earthly father. "If ye then being evil" (that is to say imperfect) "know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Heavenly Father" (the perfect) do likewise.

(33.) Dr. Wace appeals in support of this to the analogy of human life, to the testimony of men's consciences. "Looking back on the moral experiences of your life, have you never felt any analogy between them and those records of God's personal guidance and government of his people, which are recorded in the Scriptures? Have you not heard a voice within you, at critical moments of your life, of which the most natural interpretation is that it was the voice of God's spirit warning you against yielding to temptation and urging you into the true path? Have you not felt, at many such critical periods, as though a Divine Hand were guiding your course,

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protecting you from danger, or marking out your path in life, in a way you would not have chosen for yourself?" Dr. Wace's ultimate appeal is thus to the witness of conscience,—an appeal not to logic but to experience; there will always therefore be those whom it will not convince unless they will accept in this, as in ordinary cases, the testimony of respectable witnesses. But, for the purpose of an appeal to men in general, the argument is cogent, for those whom the Spirit of God has touched, it is convincing. It is not, however, necessary to deduce from these instances an absence of law, we may rather infer from them the existence of a law. For it is reasonable to suppose, as before said, that He, in all whose visible works we see law and harmony, should work by law in all His operations of which the machinery is not visible. These laws it is for science to study and expound. Perhaps, in the course of such investigation, that may come to be accepted as scientific fact which has hitherto been perceived only by poetic insight; namely, that the highest power in nature is the power of Love. That this magnetic power, attracting us to and uniting us with the Supreme Central Force which dominates all space (for 'God is Love,') gifts us, in the degree in which we are imbued with it, with the attributes of that Central Force. That its visible effect (as gravitation or attraction is probably a visible effect of electric force) is the force called Faith, which, as we have been assured by word and demonstration of the Master, and by personal experience of many witnesses past and present, controls all known physical and moral forces, in accordance with a law superior to all known laws. In short that, as the Master said, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, nothing shall be impossible unto you."

(34.) As before said, the attention of science has been devoted, hitherto, rather to physical than to moral phenomena. It may be presumed, however, that science is prepared to investigate the latter also, without prejudice, and upon ordinary rules of evidence. Now the moral evolution of man, the birth of Christ in the Soul, is at least as worthy of study as his physical evolution. Given that phenomenon 'a Christian,' we may well investigate the germ from which he sprang, the forces which produced him, the law under which he exists and develops. He himself knows these by experience, but it is for science to explain them, and to investigate the processes by which the imperfect human being progresses towards the stature of the fulness of Christ. Analogy and induction must always be the methods employed in this as in other scientific investigations. From the known facts of evolution in the inorganic and organic worlds, from the inconceivable spanning of the gulf between those worlds, it may be inferred that the process is

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continuous in the future as in the past; that it tends to perfection and completion; that suffering is a means, and that the process called death, or change leading to a renewal of existence, is a method of this evolution.

(35.) Thus there need be nothing to surprise us in the knowledge afforded us by the Lord Jesus of the process of evolution called by Him the 'new birth.' It is in accordance with the analogy of observed evolution, that beings of an existing species should, in accomplishing a further stage of evolution, become types originating higher species. It was to be expected that such should occur in the case of the species 'man,' and when we are informed that this actually took place some nineteen centuries ago, there is nothing to shock received scientific ideas in this announcement. How these developments take place is as yet a mystery, but that they do so is a fact, and, in the case of this particular development, the account which we have of the method can have no pre-conceived ideas to contend against. The man Jesus was born, we are told, in every respect a member of the existing species, and He therefore as such, passed through every past stage of evolution—both in the countless ages and in the rehearsal of that evolution, stage by stage, which takes place in the womb. But He was at the same time different from the existing species, a new type, endowed in perfection with qualities which, though existing in the ordinary man, are in man rudimentary and imperfect. He was, as we learn, endowed in perfection with the supreme power of love, and with the resulting faculties of intuition and faith; rendering Him capable of dominating the imperfections of the nature which he shared with the species from which he sprang, ("at all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin") and of dominating also existing forces and laws, which that species, through the imperfection of its faculties of love and faith, cannot as yet control.

(36.) On the assumption that these faculties in perfection are powers over-ruling all known laws, He, as possessing them in perfection, was of course superior to the laws of suffering and death which are necessary to the progress towards perfection of beings less highly endowed. But these faculties also enabled Him to dominate even the physical aversion of His human nature towards submission to those laws; and to accept what that nature revolts from, even when understood to be a means of its perfection. "Being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." He assumed that human nature and subjected it to the process requiring it to be "made perfect" through suffering, and to undergo the change called death,—because "He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it." We see, thus,

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that this voluntary acceptance and fulfilment of these laws, through the supreme moral forces of love and faith, completes the last stage of evolution, with which the means, namely, suffering ("our light affliction which is but for a moment,") and death, and the evil or imperfection, which requires those means, come to an end, having accomplished their purpose, namely, the translation of man from the natural into the spiritual kingdom. Why did He do this, who had no need to do it, so far as imperfection of his own was concerned; and whose faculties of love and faith rendered him superior to all laws governing evolution? We are told that He did it through this very faculty of love: that, "this man offered one sacrifice for sins for ever"—finally accomplishing the processes of evolution by suffering and death which extirpate sin or imperfection, and make imperfect humanity complete: that, "for the joy that was set before him," the joy of so perfecting His creation, "He endured the cross, despising the shame."

(37.) The analogy of nature teaches that, whereas he has done this, all the species following him shares in his achievement and participates in his faculties. As by physical procreation descendants in all degrees are part and parcel of the original stock, and inherit its attributes, so by analogy we can understand the "great mystery" whereby, in the "new birth," "we become members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones:" namely of that originator of the new type "from whom, the whole body fitly joined together, and completed by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love." Thus it may be understood, that, as Paul reiterates, "we are all one in Christ Jesus"—"the children which God hath given him": that "our old man is crucified with him:" and that we "are complete in him" who is "the brightness of God's glory and the express image of God's person."

PART IV.

At-one-ment, or the perfecting of imperfection.

As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me.

(38). Although the days of direct but partial revelation made to the world "as they were able to hear it" are past, still we may believe that God has not therefore ceased to reveal Himself. Indeed, we have the Master's promise that, after His departure, disclosure of Truth should proceed continuously, and more fully than theretofore. Criticism, observation, induction, the extraordinary insight of the trained imagination, are

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working now to the same ends for which before were employed men crying in the wilderness—men announcing Truth in forms suited to their own capacity and their hearers' comprehension. It would have been useless for Isaiah to speak of evolution and the 'new birth,' when even a master in Israel, seven hundred years later, could not conceive of such a thing save in its gross physical sense. Strong meat was certainly not suited for the babes whom Moses and the prophets, or the Lord Jesus, addressed; they were spoken to, accordingly, "after the manner of men." But why, when the whole Universe, and the knowledge of His methods in whom the Universe consists, is constantly progressing, should men's minds remain debarred from progress in conception of God's mercy and love? Though David described the sun as "going forth from the uttermost part of the heaven, and running about unto the end of it again," we do not therefore continue to teach a wrong view of God's scheme of the solar system. It is equally needless to adhere to former hypotheses regarding His scheme of our salvation, when He has vouchsafed to us a clearer view of His glory.

(39). The whole life of Jesus of Nazareth was passed in combating preconceived, narrow, and derogatory ideas of the nature and methods of our Father. His apostles also followed on the same lines. Moses and others, Christ's predecessors, did the same,—combating the errors of their times, and affording to men clearer views of the Divine Majesty. Each revelation was an advance upon the last. The earlier teachers endeavoured to wean man from the worship of he knew not what, to the worship of the one God. Jesus and His apostles strove to wean him from the worship which consisted in ordinances, to the worship in spirit and in truth. But all teachers necessarily spoke according to the lights of their time, because it would have been futile to do otherwise. We see that there was no intention on the part of Jesus to afford insight into Divine mysteries which were beyond the comprehension of His hearers; though doubtless revealed to Himself by the intuition of perfect love and faith. Only once did He give a hint of such, to Nicodemus, and we do not learn that He ever renewed the attempt. The only definite revelation which He made to the world was that 'God is love,' and that he Himself, the God-man, the new type, is our life. But He promised to send the Spirit of Truth to lead us into all truth, and certainly we have fulfilment of this promise in the marvellous progress now being made under guidance of that Spirit.

(40.) Prayerful men may therefore proceed boldly with investigation into that knowledge to which Jesus has invited

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us—in full trust of the guidance of that Spirit which He promised to send—by means of the intellectual methods which that Spirit teaches. There is no reason to regard mediæval hypotheses of the scheme of salvation as being more sacred from such investigation then David's hypothesis of the solar scheme.

It repels earnest men from Christianity to have to accept as necessary to salvation the dogma that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners by an expiatory sacrifice to appease an angry God. A clearer view of the fact that He came to achieve the at-one-ment of His imperfect human kind with our loving Father, would render the scheme of salvation consonant with the instincts of love and justice implanted in their breasts by that Father.

The method of that at-one-ment is prophesied by David;—"Sacrifice and offering Thou wouldest not, but a body hast Thou prepared me: in burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin Thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, lo! I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do Thy will, O God."

The supreme powers of perfect love and perfect faith accepting voluntarily and with delight the fulfilment of the laws necessary for the perfection of human kind,—this is that perfect sacrifice "To do Thy will, O God!" which completes the at-one-ment. It must finally unite, with the Central Love, that last development of God's great scheme of evolution of which Jesus Christ is the type and the epitome, the *Alpha* and the *Omega*, and into which must all His species be infolded by the 'new birth.' This is but hypothesis, but it is perhaps consonant with analogy and reason. The clearer views of God's love and justice vouchsafed to the present age evidently refuse to admit the doctrine of vicarious punishment and expiatory sacrifice as consonant with either. The just suffering punishment due to the unjust; the very idea of punishment being due to the unjust, who are but as God leaves them in their congenital imperfection ("no man can come to me except the Father which hath sent me draw him");—these ideas are repugnant to what there is of Divine instinct in man. But the Perfect perfecting the imperfect, the incomplete being 'made complete' in Him who is complete, by the fulfilment of that perfect obedience which is beyond the power of imperfection and incompleteness,—this is an aspect of the scheme of salvation from which none will turn away with repulsion as they turn from the crude dogmas hitherto maintained by some Churches. For men who see in God their own Father, in His Son their brother who chose the cross, reason will not admit the idea of punishment in the stripes, many or few, which are used for their perfection. They declare with the

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assured confidence of the Psalmist, "Thy loving correction shall make me great."

(41.) It would follow, from the hypothesis before stated, that the 'new birth' is a process of evolution as the first birth is; that without it we are Frankensteins or Undines, mere larvæ awaiting our next stage; and that the ancient story of Prometheus is founded upon scientific fact. He who makes us complete, who has procured for us the Divine fire, had also to fulfil for us the fundamental law that evil, that is to say imperfection, can only be perfected by endurance, with entire resignation and full assent of the will, of the appointed means of perfection. This is Shelley's sublime conception of that ancient story, and we may without irreverence apply to the Incarnate Love, those noble lines which close the poem of the Titan's self-devotion:—

"To suffer Woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power which seems omnipotent;
To love and bear; to hope till Hope creates;
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan! is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory!"

The new species, originating from this final type, the man Jesus, are, in accordance with the analogy of nature, integral with the type from which they spring; and are thus participant in that man's achievement—indeed 'crucified with Him!' Moreover, by aid of the new faculties with which they are endowed when attaining the new stage of development in 'the new birth,' they renew the achievement; each in his own person accepting with consenting will what their former imperfect nature would have shrunk from—completion by the appointed means of suffering and death. Endowed with these new faculties, strong in these sovereign powers of love and faith,—the magnetic force of attraction to the Central Love affording that magnetic or psychic force of faith, which by a supreme law controls all known laws,—they "rejoice in afflictions;" they "declare that they seek a better country" through the portals of death; they "bear about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus."

(42.) It is in accordance with the analogy from nature, and with what the Master is represented as intimating, that, in each generation, a large proportion of failures should occur. But in nature nothing is lost: even fire, of which we speak as 'consuming,' is only a solvent. Nature is ever working up her materials again and again in new combinations. The seed which springs only to be smothered, or which fails to germinate after its kind, reappears assuredly in life—perhaps after a

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different and better kind. The dried and withered branch, resolved into its elements, renews itself in the organic kingdom, possibly in some higher type. The teaching of nature brings out what remains unrevealed in the utterance of John XV, 6. The earliest Egyptian records show that it had been understood long before the time of Christ. Wilkinson states that "Dissolution according to them, is only the cause of reproduction—nothing perishes which has once existed, and things which appear to be destroyed only change their natures and pass into another form." Here we get again behind the revealed, on the confines of the seen and unseen. Here we must pause in awful reverence to repeat with St. Paul and *Umar Khayyám*—though in a sense far differing from that of the latter—that none can question the methods of the All-wise whose hand is moulding, breaking, (and surely re-tempering) the vessels. But here steps in the power of Faith, born of Love, to see the analogy of the processes tending throughout the Universe towards perfection, by the law of failure, decay and death as means of progress to higher stages. We know therefrom that assuredly the processes of the Divine handiwork similarly tend to make of all the vessels vessels of mercy. Realising this we can exclaim with St. Paul "Oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out."

(43.) If any should be shocked to think that God will not utterly cast off the vast majority of his children, their fellow creatures; that as Vincent Tymms writes, "the Bible does not teach as a dogma that the truth and love which were in Jesus Christ can never reach the spirits which are imprisoned in the dungeons of sin"—to whom as Peter says, Christ preached the good tidings (I Pet: iii. 19 and iv. 6)—let them consider the following ancedote from Tymms' 'Mystery of God':—"It was once asked of a learned theologian, who taught that man's doom is fixed irrevocably at death: 'supposing in some far age when you have long enjoyed the Father's House, Christ were to bring a company of men from the outer darkness, could you look up to him and say "Lord this is contrary to the words of the Bible we believed on earth?". Could you say "That book deceived me?" and he answered after a pause 'No, I could not truly say that!' It was asked again, 'Do you think that any man who has been himself redeemed from evil by undeserved goodness would ever play the part of the elder son in the golden parable, if such prodigals were brought in hereafter?' Again he answered 'No.' Still again it was asked, 'supposing, in some manner not revealed, because no part of any needed revelation upon earth, God were to overcome His last rebellious creature and so were

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to fulfil the word of Paul and "reconcile all things unto Himself," whether on earth or elsewhere, should we not feel that this was a crowning glory and delight, and a fulfilment of many starry hints studded over Scripture? Once more he replied, 'It would.'"

That theologian found in these questions a new light on the parables of the prodigal son, and the labourers in the vineyard. He grasped the meaning of "unto this last, even as unto thee." He understood that the many stripes of the sinner who knew God's will, and the few stripes of the sinner who knew not God's will, are not *punishment*, (which sense would render them patently unjust in the latter case, and really, if less evidently, so in the former) but tender perfecting, proportioned to the imperfection of each. Doubtless, as the promised spirit of truth continues His work of enlightenment, others who retard the Kingdom of Christ by bringing bad tidings instead of good, will understand "how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that publisheth salvation."

(44.) The law of natural selection, as seen in nature, plainly rests on the possession or lack of certain conditions of success by the subjects of selection. What is obscure is the cause of the possession or lack of such conditions. This much appears clear, that the cause must be independent of the effect; the possession or lack of those conditions cannot lie within the power of the creature concerned. That the monad has remained a monad while species after species has progressed, must arise from some cause independent of the monad. When the stage of development was attained at which it is supposed that some member of the ape family became man, we may be certain that he himself in no way influenced the change. What we learn thus from analogy is confirmed by the direct revelation of the Master to Nicodemus: "The wind bloweth where it listeth and ye cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the spirit." Such is the 'new birth' *—a phenomenon independent of the subject in which it is manifested. The analogy of nature does certainly take us one step further, though it would have been futile to indicate this to the ignorant *Rabbi*. The wind blows where *vacuum* shows preparedness. But this only brings us back to the fact that such preparation of the heart of man is necessarily independent of himself. That heart lies open and expectant, "all Danaë to the stars," like the earth awaiting the seed, but powerless as the earth to fecundise itself.

(45.) Why has the Whitechapel murderer remained a Frankenstein? Why have those beautiful spirits which all of us

* See further para. 78.

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have known—beautiful with the beauty of Undine, but, like her, destitute of the Divine spark—why have they not shared the gift of our Prometheus? This probably must long remain as much a secret as the arrest of any species left behind in the race of evolution. The causes of such failure may be observed, but what is the cause of those causes? These are matters at present beyond the investigation of science, though we may trust in the promise of that Spirit which shall guide us into *all* truth. But, even in the present stage of that guidance, science may go far into discovery of the actual conditions of evil, or incompleteness, which are the secondary causes of failure. It may be able to demonstrate what Shelley asserted, and what is indicated by Bulwer Lytton in 'Erewhon,' that sin is disease. That it is physical imperfection or incompleteness, perhaps defective development of the organs, chiefly those of digestion and cerebration. The lion cannot 'eat grass like the ox;' if he could, his nature would undoubtedly be changed. Why not that of man, if his digestion were perfect, if he were relieved from sensual appetites and disturbing emotions, by that perfecting of his physical organisation which possibly may be attained in time with better knowledge of the laws of health?

But still, though sinless, though perfect creature of his kind, man could not thus develop into a 'new creature.' The analogy of nature shows that automatic evolution does not translate from one kingdom into another. The principle of life has to come from the 'Unseen Universe.' To be one with Christ a man must be 'born again' of His spirit.

The *mens sana* can only reside in the *corpus sanum*. Ignorant humanity sins against the laws of physical well-being, and the results of error are far reaching in a long consequence of moral evil. "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the childrens' teeth are set on edge." But apart from this, the organisation of the human being is as yet incomplete. Mention has been made of the lack of visual faculty in the eye, and the ear and other organs of sense are equally imperfect. The want of harmony of the lobes of the brain has been demonstrated; their antagonism has been surmised on some evidence; astounding experience even points to the possibility of a complete change of character in the substitution of the action of one lobe for that of the other. It appears just possible that science may discover some truth in what Marryat describes as a crazy fancy of the father of his 'Midshipman Easy'—the feasibility of converting bad instincts into good by operation on the human cranium. As pointed out by the Duke of Argyll, "changes of every kind and degree in the character and structure of the mind is the immediate result of corresponding changes in the structure and substance of the brain. The

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pure may become impure; the loving may become malignant; the simple-minded may become suspicious; the generous may become engrossed in self; the strong-minded may become imbecile;" why not then the reverse? But, as above said, perfection in a lower kingdom leaves still unbridged the gulf between that kingdom and the next.

46.) The brain is but a compound of water, albumen, fat and phosphate salts, yet, on the arguments "*cogito ergo sum*," and "I feel therefore I am," therein lies our '*ego*'—for thought and emotion fatigue the brain; in excess they extinguish our identity. We talk of our wills being free! free from what? not certainly from influences on the brain which unconsciously govern them. Heredity, environment, disease, all deprive the will of freedom. The will of a street waif is evidently not free "to refuse the evil and choose the good," nor the will of a girl of the *Kanjar* tribe to decline the prostitution to which she is bred as an hereditary and tribal profession. The will of an Afghan savage is evidently not free to abandon revenge, bloodshed, and rapine, the manner to which he is born. And without freedom of will, where is moral responsibility? From without the brain must come all the exciting causes of thought and emotion; and those which lead to God can only come from God—as the Master explained to Nicodemus. In the words of Professor Drummond "this world of natural men is staked off from the Spiritual World by barriers which have never yet been crossed from within. No organic change, no modification of environment, no mental energy, no moral effort, no evolution of character, no progress of civilisation, can endow any single human soul with the attribute of Spiritual Life. The Spiritual World is guarded from the world next in order beneath it by a law of Biogenesis—(except a man be born again. . . . Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God." Man's nature may, and possibly will, in time be perfected under God's guidance of us in the laws of physical well-being. But that nature will have only the Undine beauty, it must remain spiritually dead. The new birth introducing it into the new type, cannot take place without a process with which man's will can have absolutely no concern. "The Christian, in short, like the poet," says Professor Drummond "is born, not made." *

So far the analogies of nature take us,—the accepted doctrines of biogenesis and evolution. Beyond this we have not yet the faculties to translate into light the rays pouring

* See further para. 78.

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upon our mental vision from the region of ultra-scientific darkness and mystery. But these faculties are in course of development by use and prayer,—the faculties of observation, induction, trained imagination, spiritual intuition. Much has already been achieved by these which justifies our hoping more. We do still indeed see through a glass very darkly, but God in his own wise purposes, is granting to the present generation the power to see further and more clearly than heretofore.

(47.) Our Master, in prophetic vision, beheld "Satan as lightning fall from Heaven." He saw that final extinction of evil which He knew that He was incarnate to commence; which He knew that, in His future state of re union with His Father, He would achieve. A Jew of His time, addressing Jews of His time, he spoke of this evil as concrete. He spoke of it in the only way conceivable by the minds of His time. But analogy may teach us, under Divine guidance, a juster idea than could be formed by Jews of the first century, of the Supreme Love which we feel to be the Central Force of the universe. It may teach us that evil is imperfection, struggling on towards perfection by the law of suffering and of change resulting therefrom;—that supposing the correctness of Peter's and Jude's assertion that angels kept not their first estate, it results that imperfection exists even among beings superior to mortals—whom the Perfect has therefore sometimes to 'charge with folly'; and that the (necessarily pre-existent) evil, of which the fallen angels were victims, has yet to be purged out by processes under that law of suffering. The origin of that pre-existent evil which caused these beings to fall; the reason of imperfection in even angels, whom He could have created perfect had it consisted with His wisdom to do so; these things are inconceivable by man—probably inconceivable by angels also, for we are told that there are mysteries which even their superior faculties desire to look into, and apparently, in vain. But it is certain 'that this evil must have had an origin, and that necessarily by the will of the Supreme Love. Without that will evidently nothing can exist, or it would be a force co-existent with and independent of the Supreme. The law of evil and imperfection is therefore part of the scheme of evolution and progress stage by stage towards union with God. Until the necessary faculties are developed in us we cannot apprehend the function of evil in the Divine scheme. But Love, with its attributes, Faith and Intuition, enables us, even now, to grasp the truth that, like all His creation, 'it was good.' To quote Professor Jevons: "The hypothesis that there is a creator at once all-powerful and all-benevolent is surrounded with

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difficulties verging closely upon logical contradiction. . . . But it we cannot succeed in avoiding contradiction in our notions of elementary geometry, can we expect that the ultimate purposes of existence shall present themselves to us with perfect clearness? I can see nothing to forbid the notion that in a higher state of intelligence much that is now obscure may become clear. We perpetually find ourselves in the position of finite minds attempting infinite problems, and can we be sure that where we see contradiction, an infinite intelligence might not discover perfect logical harmony?"

As evil had an origin, so we are assured, and our hearts confirm this, it shall have an end. We may assume that evil, as imperfection, shall certainly disappear, and perfection be attained. But that 'evil' as a concrete thing, 'evil' as a created being, shall be "reserved in everlasting chains under darkness" for the exhibition of the wrath of its Omnipotent Creator, must soon, under guidance of the Spirit of Truth, be understood to be a conception of our God as unworthy as any of those earlier ones which Moses, or the Prophets, or our Master Himself strove to remove from the minds of former generations. But it was a conception suitable to that age. Revelation, like every thing in the universe, is evidently progressive. David saw that "the Heavens declare the glory of God." We have now got only a little further than David in understanding that glory from the analogy of His works, but we *have* got further—and we shall, it may fairly be assumed, continue to progress in knowledge and just conceptions of the "Father of Lights."

H. GREY.

[*To be continued.*]

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MARATHON.

[The story of Marathon, as told by an Athenian veteran, B. C. 427.]

Each blow our warriors struck that day,
Was as the thunder-stroke,
Nor mightier than our serried strength,
The storm-defying oak.
Others resistless on the spears
Their glorious hearts have hurled,
And won their country's cause—but we
The Freedom of a world.

Northwards from Athens wend, if thou
With yearning eyes wouldst scan
The deathless battle-field, and skirt
The spurs Pentelican;
Then, kneeling, praise Athené Queen,
For thou shalt see full soon
The gleaming Ocean, and the plain
Shaped curve-wise like the moon.

Though many a champion shall be found,
To shield us as before,
Still handing on the torch of Fame
That burns for evermore:
No patriot victory won shall flood
The world with purer light,
Nor such consummate Chief lead on
In such transcendent fight.

Long had we watched the lowering cloud,
And sternly clenched the sword,
Since flaming Sardis fired the heart
Of Persia's Despot Lord:
Bitter the burning tears we shed,
When doomed Miletus fell,
As He, the Victor-Poet,* knew,
Who mourned her all too well.

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* Phrynichus.

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And now the battle-storm had burst,
Nor longer frowned afar,
And we were in the van of Greece,
The fore-front of the war:
For this through stress of despot sway
Had fair Athenæ grown,
To face the fury of the Mede
Unfriended and alone!

Now, who may stay the King's advance?
His war-ships' scathing sweep
Thro' those gray isles that fleck the wave,
The star-flowers of the deep?
Lo! fallen Eretria mourns enslaved,
Shall Pallas' City feel
The Persian's desecrating ire,
His ruthless grasp of steel?

And shall she see her shrines sink low
In blood-red fire and smoke,
And crouch beneath the Median scourge,
Or Hippias' traitor-yoke?
Not while the lowliest of her sons
Inglorious life disdains,
Not while one drop of patriot blood
Is pulsing in our veins!

South o'er the pine-crowned Isthmus,
That spans the twain blue seas,
Speed on for Lacedaemon,
O swift Pheidippides!
Ne'er for such glorious guerdon
Have strained thy flying feet,
Though well Athenæ knows thee
The fleetest of the fleet.

Proudly the peerless runner dared
Lone peaks, and frowning woods,
With heart on fire the heights he tracked,
And star-lit solitudes:
But aye the glamour of the glades
Was o'er him as he ran,
And in Parthenian groves he saw
The great Arcadian Pan:

"Hail!" said the bounteous God benign;
"The Virgin's City tell,
I, all forgotten as I am,
Am one that loves thee well:

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I for Athenæ's sake will leave
My haunts of Arcady,
And on the Marathonian shore
Fight foremost for the free."

Thrilled to that voice divine the youth,
But onward rushed amain,
Till lo! Taygetus, and lo!
The famed Laconian plain.
Where Mother of the soul austere,
The heart that scorns to feel,
The mountain-girdled City rears
Her warrior sons of steel.

"Be ours to champion Hellas
In this her bitterest need,
And hurl our joint embattled strength
Defiant on the Mede!"

But, e'er the fray, the Spartan's blood
Beats icy-cold and dull,
"We march not, till yon broadening Moon
Wax mellowed to the full."

"So be it; but all Time shall judge
The issue of to-day,
And flying Victory mock the force,
Made fruitless by delay."

Again the cliff, the scaur, the flood,
Fleet past him, till he sees
Fair streets, loved shrines, and hears the shout,
"What news, Pheidippides?"

"Fear not, O men of Athens,
Be firm as Pallas' hill,
Though sullen Sparta scowls aloof,
The gods are with us still!"

"And now the time for deeds has come,
The time for words has gone;
Arm, and away! the Persian host
Lies camped at Marathon.
Upon them! or each wave that beats,
Shall spurn our wrecked renown,
And Hellas' haughty star august
For evermore go down.

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But our's a Chieftain born to head
The swords well drawn for Greece ;
To quell the warrior Mede, as erst
The wind-lashed Chersonese :
The man who strikes when others pause,
Who plans when others dream ;
In passionless resolve secure,
And victor-calm supreme.

What though the great King's brooding Hate
O'ershadow land and seas,
His are the myriads of the East,
And ours—Miltiades—
The man of iron nerve and brain,
The subtle heart of flame,
That aye thro' victory or defeat,
Burns quenchless and the same.

And, if inexorable Zeus
No longed-for light bestow,
Nor to the suppliant Greek be given
To lay the Persian low ;
At least no power in Earth or Heaven,
Shall make us fly or yield ;
And ours the death of deaths—to fall
For Athens under shield !"

In those great days of yore not yet,
Thro' summer breezes soft,
Or snowy blasts Pentelican,
Athené * towered aloft :
But her fair Temple crowned the Rock,
Whence many a choral strain
Rose to the Virgin's praise, as now
From Pheidias' statelier fane.

And, when thro' press of weeping throngs
Our men-at-arms strode forth,
And, massed in panoplied array,
Marched swiftly to the North :
Be sure that Pallas bowed unseen
Her awful face benign,
What time the Maidens of her love
Knelt death-white at her shrine.

* Athené Promachus, placed between the Propylœa and the Parthenon of Pheidias, built on the site of the earlier temple, which was destroyed by the Persians in 480 B. C.

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And now held counsel, grave and long,
The Leaders of our host,
Where those gray mountain-steeps o'erlook
Eubœa and the coast.
Now for the victor arm of might
To stay the rolling doom,
For Thought's compelling lightning-flash
To cleave the thunder gloom!

No weightier theme than theirs might thrill
A warrior patriot's voice;
Strike them—but when? an Empire's Fate
Was centred in the choice.

But o'er Callimachus hung poised
The Fortune of the day;
For five the votes for instant fight,
And five were for delay;
And, as some stately war-ship sways,
When freshening shrills the breeze,
So to and fro his soul—till spoke
The Chief Miltiades.

"Thou, upon whom the Future rests,
Which I full well divine,
Ne'er have the high gods given to man,
Such destiny as thine!
For ne'er, since Pallas' olive sprang
From out the sacred Rock,
Was her fair City doomed to face
So stern a battle-shock.

"Stay not till traitor-greed accursed,
Or faction lay us low,
But give thy casting voice for fight,
And hurl us on the foe:
So shall Athenæ deathward drive
These Median slaves, and thus
Flash beaconing o'er the storms to be,
Thy name, Callimachus!"

"Thy rede rings true, at once we close,"
The lofty War-Lord said;
"And may bright Victory wreathe our brows,
Or haste we to the dead!"
So now the Battle-vote was won,
The wordy conflict o'er,
And, deepening slow, the dreamy night
Sank down on sea and shore.

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On the Mount's crown Miltiades
Mused silently apart;
Marble his mien, but mightiest thought
Swept surging thro' his heart:
With keen presaging glance he scanned
Camped host, and havened ships;
Not yet the shout, that saved a world,
Had thundered from his lips!

But soon the word for sudden charge,
Flashed flame-like through the host,
And, gripping shield and spear, they set
Their faces to the coast:
Flawless from van to rear they glowed
In burnished armour bright,
And, glad in heart and highest hope,
He marshalled them for fight.

Tried City! crowned for evermore;
Athenæ's prayers shall blend
With her's thy stainless name august,
Unquailing to the end:
Clear thro' the clouding years, where'er
Heroic hearts draw breath,
Looms lone Platæa's desolate Star,
The dauntless unto death!

O'er stern Cithæron's southern slope,
Her thousand speed amain,
With swift but measured tramp they trod
The great Thriasian plain:
Far on the right Eleusis bay
Smiled glassy—calm and still,
And leftward frowned the massive ridge
Of Parnes' stately hill.

At last the field they gained, what time
Our ranks were closing in,
And we the mighty battle-game
Were yearning to begin:
And, when we saw their helmets glance,
Our wild tempestuous shout,
Greeting the loyal and the loved,
Glad welcome thundered out.

But now defiance to the death
The stormy trumpets blew,
And, fluttering fitfully aloft,
The haughty war-flags flew.

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Then "Charge!" our Leader's voice rang out,
And Fate was in the ring;
"And clasp in close embrace of steel
The vassals of the King!"

High swelled our proud acclaim—the plain,
The sacred dust we trod,
Was hallowed by the name of Him,
The conquering Hero-God:
With years long spent our hearts were stirred,
And mightiest memories
Surged from the Saviour Maiden's * Fount,
And grove of Heracles.

But flashed before their awe-struck eyes,
As on our warriors bore,
Strange glimpses, as of gleaming Gods,
That ever charged before:
For Theseus' giant shape, they say,
And dread puissant Pan,
And Pallas' self, supremely fair,
Rushed radiant in the van.

But, as an eagle on his prey
Adown the mountain springs,
Exultant on the foe we swooped,
With shock of mighty wings:
Swift o'er the mile between we pressed,
And bitterly we laughed,
As, darkening the blue sky o'erhead,
Whistled the stinging shaft.

On swept the long unswerving line,
And maddening burst the cheers
O'er splendours of the crested helm,
And glint of glancing spears:
Sheer down upon their camp we clashed,
And closed beside the bay,
And shook the Persian left and right,
And pierced his dense array.

But to and fro our centre reels,
And frets our fierce advance;
T'was there the Wood-God raged amain,
And death was in his glance.

* Maçaria.

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There fought the Sacæ, and the best
Of Persia's princely land,
Nor might the flower of all the East
Our weakened front withstand.

Yet long on those thinned ranks in vain
The wrathful war-waves beat,
Till slow the central host fell back
In terrible retreat:
And, mid the mêlée and the rout,
Sank many a lordly crest,
As, blood-besprent, the flying Greek,
The Persian swordsman prest.

Some god, perchance dread Nemesis,
False-smiling lured them on,
Nor recked they of her wiles, but deemed
That Greece was gripped and won;
When lo! they falter and recoil,
And shudder, as they hear
The hurrying tramp of victor hosts,
That charged them in the rear.

And foremost the high Chief, with mien
Of masterful command,
As of a Leader skilled, who holds
The battle in his hand:
And proud triumphant scorn, as round
The rallying centre wheeled,
Flashed from those falcon-eyes, that saw
The Persian's doom was sealed.

Clashed the strong spear, and on the mail
The trusty broadsword rang,
As front and rear we hemmed them in,
And fierce upon them sprang:
And aye the vengeful Greek struck down
The Persian and the Mede,
And Asia's earth-o'ershadowing strength
Was shattered as a reed.

Yet from her haughty brow we plucked
No bloodless laurel-wreath;
Blenched not her swarthy sons, but rushed
Right terribly to death.
But vain against the weighty spear
The brandished scimitar,
Vain 'gainst the serried phalanx-front
The surging tides of war.

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And Pallas pierced and froze their hearts
With horror and affright,
And o'er the darkening plain they swept
In wild tempestuous flight.
And by the billowy marge they stand
Tumultuously at bay,
Where in close order, line on line,
The sheltering galleys lay.

But, as at night-fall fiercer flamed
The conflict at the ships,
Callimachus the War-Lord fell
A smile upon his lips.
Above all Chiefs of storied fields
Above all victors he,
Happiest—who thus exultant died
For Greece and Liberty.

And, as he gripped the galley's stern
Euphorion's anguished son
Sank mid the rushing and the roar
When scarce the fight was won.
But o'er him, "Victory!" shrilled the wind
And "Freedom, friend!" the wave
Chanted—what sounds more sweet might soothe
The death-pangs of the brave!

On Ocean's heaving breast they hide
Their shame and dire defeat,
Though, as they fled, we smote them hard,
And grimly fired the fleet.
Full many a blood-stained Tyrian robe
Bestrewed the tufted grass,
And many a cloven morion gleamed
From out the black morass.

Now from the fray Miltiades
His host triumphant drew,
And proud the snow-white Fane o'erlooked
The freed Ægean blue:
Red glanced the torch-fires o'er the slain,
The spoils, and captive throng,
Where He * the noblest of us all,
Watched steadfast all night long.

* Aristeides.

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But from Pentelicus blazed forth
The bodeful traitor-shield,
And city-wards Miltiades
Marched straightway from the field.
By dawn our spearmen held the heights
And from Phalerum bay,
The foemen's baffled fleet full sail
Fled eastward and away.

Then the whole City rose as one
And o'er the voiceful street,
Streamed forth in long august array
And festal splendour meet:
To greet with loftiest choral chant
And mightiest minstrelsies,
The conquerors of Marathon,
Who bore the brunt for Greece.

'Tis pictured in the Pœcilé,
Mark well yon Chief, who leads
A group of warriors armed, that chase
A flying host, that speeds
Spurned to the ships—the sunset glow
Gleams stormily thereon—
Such Chieftain was Miltiades,
Such field was Marathon!

Still nightly sound along the cliffs,
And glory-haunted coasts,
The neighing of the battle-steed,
The rush of warring hosts.
And, long as beats one patriot heart,
Above all days, be sure,
The sixth of Boëdromion month
Shall evermore endure.

C. A. KELLY.

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THE QUARTER.

THE WEST.

Foreign Politics and Events.

GENERAL BOULANGER, expelled from Brussels by the Belgian Government, has taken refuge in Perfidious Albion. He expresses himself highly delighted with the reception he has received, and declares that England is the only country in which liberty is not merely a name. The French Senate has been made a High Court for the trial of General Boulanger for treason; that is, for attempting to overthrow the Republic. On the Continent they have a nasty way of trying absconders in their absence—an example which the Indian Legislature might with advantage follow in the case of certain offences, such as rioting. Opinions differ as to Boulanger's action in taking flight; but it is generally admitted that *le brav' général* knows what he is about.

The virtual acquittal of M. Deroulède and other members of the Patriotic League was regarded as a severe check to the Government; but the Exhibition seems to have enhanced its strength and popularity. President Carnot was well received, and in an eloquent speech said that France had finally broken the "one-man" power with which she had been threatened, and appealed to his hearers to maintain concord. The centenary of the assembling of the States General at Versailles in 1789 was celebrated by a special fête there, while there were subsidiary celebrations throughout France. The ambassadors of the Great Powers could hardly be present at the opening of the Exhibition, thereby helping to celebrate the downfall of monarchic rule.

In Russia the Nihilists are showing signs of increased activity, and plots have been discovered against the life of the Czar and other persons of the highest rank. This feverish unrest in Russia is the most disturbing element in the European situation. There is always danger of a sudden surprise on the part of Russia, and her intrigues in Constantinople are said to be more active than ever. It is said to be Russia's maxim to strike when her opponent is not looking, and, if possible, below the belt; so that we may wake up any morning to read that the Russian Black Sea Fleet has forced the

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passage of the Bosphorus. The visit of King Humbert to Germany is said to have made Russia regard France as her real and best ally. There are those who would like to see Austria at Salonica and the Russians masters of Constantinople, so as to be rid of the bugbear of the Eastern Question, or at least to give it a new phase.

Egypt and Suakin are almost as hateful to the chronicler of events as are the words "chur" and "deara" to the Collector of a Gangetic district in Bengal. It is an eternal up and down, like a game of see-saw. The Mahdists have been defeated by the Senoussists, who are now said to be supreme in Darfour and Kordofan.

The proceedings of the Samoan Conference are likely to prove satisfactory to all parties. Germany has abandoned her pretensions to pose as the principal Power in the Samoan group, and is now prepared to stand on precisely the same footing as England and the United States. The Conference will probably draw up a scheme for the construction of a native Government in Samoa.

Other important events are—the meeting of the Queens of England and Spain at San Sebastian: the Shah of Persia's visit to Europe: the conviction of Undabuko and Dinizulu for treason, followed by sentences of fifteen and ten years imprisonment respectively; the death of Count Tolstoi, Russian Minister of the Interior; the hurricane at Samoa, in which six out of seven war ships were lost, H.M.S. Calliope being the only vessel saved: the opening of the Indian territory of Oklahoma in the United States to settlers: the floods in Maryland and Virginia, in which some 10,000 persons perished.

The quarter has been remarkable for riots and strikes. There have been mining strikes in Newcastle and in Germany: strikes of masons in Berlin, of peasants in Lombardy, and riots in Vienna. The labour question is assuming an acute form, and will have to be dealt with in a generous and comprehensive manner.

Home Politics and Events.

The Naval Defences Bill has passed both Houses, amendments by Mr. Cremer and Mr. Childers having been rejected. Lord Salisbury has hinted that the chances of peace are not so strong as might be desired. While strongly defending the increased expenditure on naval defences, he urged the folly of increasing the dangers of invasion by creating a possibly hostile independent Government in Ireland.

This brings us to a consideration of Ireland and Irish matters. There can be no doubt that the intemperate attacks against Mr. Balfour have greatly increased his prestige and

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popularity, and but for the ferocious animosity displayed against him, he could hardly have attained the position of pre-eminence which he now occupies. Mr. Chamberlain has paid a well-deserved tribute to the courage and firmness with which he is carrying on the administration of Ireland. He points out that in August 1887, there were 4.556 cases of boycotted persons reported to the Police: in December 1887, that is, after the Crimes Act had been in operation a few months, the number had fallen to 2,469; but by December 1888 it had been reduced to 712. Mr. Chamberlain has also written to the Birmingham Liberal United Association that the time has come when Government should give proofs of its readiness to propose a substitute for Mr. Gladstone's rejected Irish bills; if Government granted a large final measure of land purchase, making the majority of the tenants the owners of the land, much misery and discontent would be removed, and the difficulty, in the way of granting a large liberal system of Local Government, would be immediately lessened. The Association adopted a resolution practically ratifying the policy suggested. It is considered probable that Ministers will ask Parliament for a large grant to carry out, on a comprehensive scale, the provisions of Lord Ashbourne's Act. The land question seems to be the root of the Irish question, and the solution of the one will tend to the solution of the other.

Lord Derby also has made a thoughtful and sober speech, He points out that to give the Irish a legislature of their own, on condition that they use their power so as not to interfere with the rights of Imperial authority, would be like giving a child a drum, and telling him not to make a noise on it; Ireland is over-represented in Parliament, and Irish members monopolise a share of the time of the House, which would not be permitted to Englishmen or Scotchmen. The Irish Church had been disestablished to please the Nationalists; while, in regard to land, Parliament had placed the Irish tenant in a position more favourable than tenants of any other country in the world. The truth of the last statement is open to question.

The Parnell Commission has been again adjourned. The President congratulated Sir Charles Russell on his "great speech, worthy of a great occasion." The speech was an elaborate history of agrarian crime in Ireland, and the speaker affirmed that misgovernment, and the exactions of landlords in Ireland, were the causes of all crimes there. Mr. Parnell's examination has, on the whole, been not unfavourable to him, though he had to make some damaging admissions in cross-examination. The Town Council of Edinburgh propose to

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confer the freedom of the city on Mr. Parnell; but it appears that the citizens of Edinburgh have, by a majority of 18,000 to 3,000, disapproved of the proposal.

Messrs. Conybeare, J. O'Connor, Condon, Manning, and Dr. Tanner have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for offences under the Crimes Act. The Reverend Father McFadden and twenty peasants have been committed for complicity in the murder of Inspector Martin at Gweedore. Mr. Parnell has withdrawn his action against the *Times* in the Irish Courts. The abolition of the Viceroyalty of Ireland is under consideration. Meanwhile the Earl of Zetland has been appointed Viceroy. Dr. Barr, in a letter to the *Times*, has shown that the treatment of prisoners in Irish jails contrasts very favourably with that in English jails. This letter has not thrown Sir William Harcourt into an ecstacy of delight. By the way, Sir William's attack on the Attorney General has been much resented by the Bar and the public

Twice Mr. Goschen has had a prospective surplus within his grasp, but

"Bis frustra comprensa manus effugit imago."

He has added one per cent. to the death duties on estates of £10,000 and upwards in value, and has augmented by $\frac{1}{12}$th of a penny the beer duty of two pence a gallon.

The Scotch Local Government Bill has been read a second time in the House of Commons. This Bill deals with, and seeks to remove, well nigh every grievance which has been urged as an argument in favour of giving Scotland back her Parliament, and undoing the Act of Union of 1702, in the same way as Mr. Gladstone proposes to do with the Act of 1800. What the House thinks of Home Rule for Scotland is evident from the rejection, by 200 votes to 79, of Dr. Clark's motion, that it was desirable to establish a National Parliament in Scotland for the control of Scottish affairs.

There has been a division in the House of Commons in favour of Mr. Milvain's Corporal Punishment Bill.

Miscellaneous.

A motion for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales was rejected in the House of Commons by 284 to 231 votes. The House has also rejected, by a majority of 41 votes, Mr. Labouchere's motion to abolish hereditary legislators in the Upper House. Mr. Picton's motion for the abolition of the duty on tea was rejected by 215 to 120 votes.

The fate of the Sugar Bounties Bill seems to be uncertain. There is a strongly protectionist flavour about it, and its opponents think that France, whose sugar trade will be injurously affected by the measure, may resort to retaliation.

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The Court of Archbishops has decided that the Archbishop of Canterbury has jurisdiction to try the Bishop of Lincoln's case. The Judges of the Court of Appeal have ungallantly decided that women cannot sit as members of the London Council Board.

Among the deaths of the quarter are those of John Bright, the Duchess of Cambridge, and the Duke of Buckingham. Mr. W. H. Smith in the House of Commons paid a tribute to John Bright's consistency and honesty of purpose; while Lord Salisbury said his actions were never guided by personal or party considerations, but by the purest patriotism and benevolence.

Sir Charles Warren has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the Straits Settlements.

The House of Lords has again rejected, by 147 against 120 votes, the Bill legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

Among the books of the quarter are "Henry V." in the Macmillan's Men of Action series, and vol. xviii of the Dictionary of National Biography. Mr. Pinero's "The Profligate," at the new Garrick Theatre, is said to be the most remarkable piece he has yet produced.

INDIA AND THE EAST.

External Events.

The Russians are as ever busy in Central Asia. General Komaroff has been to inspect Sarakhs and Penjdeh. Russia is seeking compensation for the opening of the Karun to British navigation, and claims a concession for the construction of railways, and other concessions. The Shah of Persia was received with great ceremony at St. Petersburgh.

Matters are much the same in Burmah; the frontier tribes are gradually being debellated. Sir John Gorst said in the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Bradlaugh, that he was not aware that there was widespread discontent and distress in Burmah.

As regards the Eastern frontier of Bengal, Sir Steuart Bayley, speaking at Chittagong, said he wished to make raids in future impossible, by means of a system of central posts and through-roads, which would bring the whole country under complete control.

Matters in Sikkim do not seem to be progressing much. The mountain battery have had a rough time of it, and one of their number, Lieutenant Hudleston, has succumbed to fever. It is thought that the permanent occupation of the Chumbi Valley is

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the only mode of bringing matters to a satisfactory termination. Nobody desires a march to Lhassa. But something must be done to put an end to the deadlock. The effect of the Jelapla victory has been utterly lost, for savage and semi-savage tribes do not understand a victory not being followed up. The Lamas are ignorant, obstinate, and determined to exclude strangers, while the Chinese authorities do not appear to be particularly keen in the matter.

The Maharajah Dhuleep Singh has exhibited a further development of insanity in having written to the Queen for the Koh-i-noor.

Internal Events.

The Crawford Commission has terminated in the acquittal of Mr. Crawford on charges of corruption, though he has been found guilty of improper borrowing. The Secretary of State has directed his name to be removed from the Civil List. As regards the more guilty Mamlutdars, Lord Cross has written to Lord Reay: "The general rule must be that Magistrates who have given bribes must be deprived of their functions. I must, however, leave it to you to discriminate between the cases; but I appreciate the importance of pledges given by Government, and leave you to compensate individuals as you think necessary. Prompt action is essential." The law applicable to the Mamlutdars is contained in the Statute 49, Geo. iii., Chapter 126, "An Act for the Further Prevention of the Sale and Brokerage of Offices." By sections 3 and 4 of this Act, it is a misdemeanour to buy or sell offices, or to receive or pay any money, fee, gratuity, loan or reward for any office, commission, place, or employment, or for any participation in the profits thereof, &c. It is also a misdemeanour to receive or pay money for soliciting offices, or for any negotiations, or pretended negotiations relating to the sale or purchase of offices. We have noticed that some of the other constitutional statutes, defining offences and prescribing penalties, simply use the words "shall be liable to," &c., but in this particular Act the words are "shall be deemed *and adjudged* guilty of a misdemeanour." The law is imperative. The man who pays any thing as a consideration for getting any office or employment, is not only to be deprived of such office, but he *must be prosecuted as well.* If the Mamlutdars are to retain their offices, it will be necessary to pass an Act enabling them to do so. Mere deprivation of Magisterial powers does not satisfy the requirements of the Statute.

During the quarter the first meetings of the new Calcutta and Bombay Corporations have taken place. The General Committee of the Calcutta Corporation, elected by ballot, consists of eight Hindus, two Mahomedans, and two Europeans;

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while the new Standing Committee of the Bombay Corporation consists of five Parsees, two Europeans, and one Hindu. The Chairmanship of the Calcutta Corporation does not appear to be a bed of roses at any time, and recently, one of the Commissioners has been making it a bed of thorns. The Bombay Corporation has asked the Government to take legislative action for the segregation of lepers. A Bill dealing with lepers is now in the legislative cauldron.

The Calcutta Trades Association has addressed the Government of India on the subject of the silver plate duties. They point out the grevious injustice inflicted on an important branch of Indian industry, and a hope is expressed that the Government of India will again press for the repeal of the duties.

The Bombay Government has issued a Resolution deploring the prevalence of bribery and corruption in the recent Municipal elections at Poona, and hoping that legislative interference will not be necessary.

Lord Cross has authorized the raising of a three per cent. loan of £3,500,000 for the purpose of constructing railways in India and discharging debentures. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce has passed a resolution that the time has arrived for pushing on the construction of Indian railways in a more vigorous manner than at present. The serious distress in Ganjam should bring to a head the project of an East Coast railway.

It is reported that there will be deficient crops of Russian and American wheat. This fact should give a stimulus to the cultivation of Indian wheat, and to the further removal of impurities. We would draw attention to the interesting article on the subject in this number. The recent Conference at the India Office regarding the India wheat trade did not end in anything very practical, but it must have done good if it has only helped to fix the responsibility for admixture of impurities in the proper place. There was a consensus of opinion of shippers and millers in favour of limiting the admixture of impurities to two per cent., but the Indian Committee of the London Corn Association advocated non-interference.

Indian questions have been well to the front in the House of Commons. Sir John Gorst, in reply to Mr. Bradlaugh, has said that the immense mass of information obtained by the Indian Finance Committee and the Indian Public Service Commission, has rendered a Parliamentary inquiry into Indian affairs at the present moment inexpedient, as it would only delay reform. Mr. Samuel Smith moved a resolution condemning the excise system in India, which was carried by 113 to 103 votes: the vote is not regarded as of much importance. Sir Roper Lethbridge's motion for a Select Committee of inquiry into the grievances of the Uncovenanted

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Civil Service of India has been rejected by 122 against 86 votes. This is a step forward.

The Marquis of Dufferin has been granted the freedom of the City of London. In his speech at the Mansion House, he said he believed the whole of India to be loyal, though it was rather from self interest than sentiment.

Other matters of interest or importance are,—the destructive fire at Surat, at which the damage is estimated at over a crore of rupees; the railway accident on the Northern Bengal Railway, in which seven persons were killed; the balloon ascents of Mr. Spencer and Baboo Ram Chunder Chatterjee of the Indian National Circus, and the distress in Behar and Ganjam. The recruitment of the Subordinate Executive Service has been dealt with in a final and comprehensive manner by the Bengal Government.

Mr. Bradlaugh has, no doubt unintentionally, given a great impetus to the circulation of the *Calcutta Review*, especially among natives. If it was the article on the National Congress by an Indian Tax-payer which stirred the bile of the native press, they will probably have been appeased by the April number, which contains an article by a Hindu in favour of the Congress. The fact is that we have tried to get some native writer to explain exactly in what respects the matters touched on in the Congress programme bear hardly on the people, and also to give some lucid and rational explanation of the exclusion of all social and moral reforms. As yet nobody has responded to our call. If our remarks about Mr. Hume constituted the *fons et origo* of the *animus* displayed against the *Review*, we can only say that it is better to risk unpopularity than to stultify one's conscience and break the law. The political pamphlets we referred to have been condemned as seditious by higher authority than ourselves, and the excitement of disaffection (Sec. 124 A, Penal Code,) is classed with murder and other heinous offences, of which *every person* is *legally bound* to give information (Sec. 45 of the Code of Criminal Procedure). It is hardly reasonable to blame a person for too strict and literal an observance of the law. As to politics, the Review has never been more free from politics. "The Quarter" chronicles passing events, and probably most readers like a little life and spirit infused into its dry bones. In the midst of a desert of ponderous and sober sermonizing, this is the one oasis, in which it is permissible to scintillate, or to make an attempt to do so. *Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?*

The Silver question is Avernus;—*facilis descensus Averni: sed revocare gradum, &c.* Lord Salisbury, replying to a deputation of the Bimatallic League, said that a great International

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Monetary Congress would meet next year at Paris, at which his Lordship hoped England would be well represented.

Mr. Samuel Smith's motion, condemning the opium trade between India and China, was rejected by 165 to 89 votes. S. S. has since then been more thoughtful and subdued. With reference to the adoption of some modified form of local option for India, it may be mentioned, that the prohibitory liquor law brought forward as an amendment to the State Constitution, has been defeated in Massachusetts by a majority of 40,000 votes.

Police and Law.

The tank-filling case against the Calcutta Municipality was withdrawn. The presiding Judge asked the Advocate-General to state his grounds for withdrawing from the prosecution, but the latter refused to do so. Govindrao Chimajee, son-in-law of the late Maharaja Holkar, was acquitted on the charge of assaulting his child-wife. The *Times* correspondent has denounced, in terms none too vehement, the practice of selling mere children as wives to old men. Somebody jumps up every now and again and makes some application in the great case of Jarndyce *vs.* Jarndyce—that is, the Burdwan adoption case, which seems to have given rise to a good deal of jaundice.

The Lower Burmah Courts Bill has been passed by the Indian Legislature, and the Private Fisheries Bill by the Bengal Council. We were glad to see that Dr. Rashbehari Ghose got his amendment carried. Small private fisheries deserve protection, but we think that fisheries in navigable rivers should be public in all cases, except when they have been permanently settled and assessed with Government revenue. We would allow fishing with nets, and not merely with rod or line, in all navigable rivers, subject, of course, to any necessary legislation as to the size of the nets used. Where the fisheries in navigable rivers are not permanently settled, the taking of rent by zemindars seems to be a mere usurpation, just as much as if they were to usurp a public road within the ambits of their zemindaries, or take rent for goods placed on such a road. Beels and interior pieces of water stand on a different footing. But fisheries in navigable rivers (not permanently settled) are, and should be public. They are public by the common law of the country, so far as it is ascertainable, and they were public by the Roman law. It may have been a mistake to permanently settle fisheries in navigable rivers, but *quod non debuit, id factum valet.*

The Coolie Emigrants' Sanitation Bill is merely an instalment of further legislation dealing with the labour question in

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Assam. Mr. Tucker's report has shown that coolies have been frequently kidnapped on their way to the tea gardens.

Dr. Hewlett, ex-Sanitary Commissioner for Bombay, has written an extremely retrogade letter denouncing the Bombay Village Sanitation Bill. The legislation may be parochial, but Local Councils are intended to deal with parochial matters. Dr. Hewlett would leave the villages alone to stew in their own juice. His successor will probably not thank him for his letter, which—from the pointed allusion to his friendship with Mr. Crawford—looks as if it were a shot fired at the Bombay Government. Sanitation must be commenced somehow and somewhere, and the experiment of the Bombay Government is at least entitled to a trial. If a failure, other Governments may take warning: if a success, they may imitate it. The laws of Local Councils are not those of the Medes and Persians, that they cannot be amended, altered, or even repealed.

The 17th June 1889. H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

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SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies, for the year 1887-88.

IT is one of the anomalies of our Anglo-Indian system of Government, to find men who have elected soldiering as their profession in life, officiating in all sorts of civil employments, and ousting civilians therefrom to the prejudice of efficient army organization.

If we felt inclined to admit any exception at all to the unfairness of this practice, it would be in favour of Colonel Holroyd, the able Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab. His Report for 1887-88 now lies before us. From it we gather that the number of public educational institutions at the close of the year was somewhat larger than in the previous year; the number of scholars slightly smaller. The decrease is attributed mainly to enforcement of a higher scale of fees, and is therefore very far from deplorable. For nothing can be more demoralizing, more emasculating to natural growth, than wholesale charity in matters educational. People seldom appreciate, seldom profit by educational advantages for which they are not called upon to pay or to make some return. We are glad to hear that in the Punjab "school dicipline and physical training are reported to be steadily improving; and signs are not wanting that in many parts of the Province a real interest in educational matters is at last gradually, if still slowly, awakening. The falling off in the number of students at the Government College, Lahore, is not necessarily to be regretted so far as it is due to the imposition of higher fees. Whatever may be the opinion as regards the levy of moderately high fees for primary or even the lower branch of secondary education, there can be no room for doubt that the expenses of University education should now be largely defrayed by the students themselves."

Paragraph 6 of the Government Resolution on this Education Report is thus worded: "The work of the Central Training College during the year appears to have been satisfactory; but it is by no means satisfactory that 55 stipends in the Normal Schools should have remained vacant, and that the selection of masters sent for training at these schools should have been

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unsuitable. Where these results are due to the carelessness of District Inspectors, notice of their shortcomings should be taken by the Director. The work done in the Mayo School of Industrial Art appears to have been excellent as usual. Proposals for the development of the school, for the erection of further workshops in connection with the departments of technical instruction, and the establishment of a technical school in connection with the railway workshops at Lahore, have recently been recommended to the Government of India or sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor; and it may be hoped that the practical extension of the influence of the present School of Art which Mr. Kipling has so long desired, will be carried into execution during the present year. It is intended that when this is done, all industrial schools in the Province shall be visited and directed by the Principal of the Mayo School of Art." As to female education, we are told that results so far attained cannot be regarded as very striking; but that advances have been made during the last few years.

Judged by examination tests the year's studies at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla, and High School, Lahore, have left much to be desired; and His Honor hopes that the changes made in the management of these institutions will effect a marked improvement in them in future. The development of the Aitchison (Chiefs) College under the Governorship of Major-General Black, C S.I., has been very satisfactory, and the Lieutenant-Governor trusts that a long career of useful work will be found to lie before this College. The development of the system of grants to indigenous schools is a gratifying feature of the present Report. It cannot be doubted that a field of wide, though minor educational usefulness exists in this direction if it is properly worked, and His Honor will expect all Inspectors to see that this field is not overlooked.

Want of interest in matters educational is complained of as permeating Local Boards, and society generally in the Province.

Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, for the Agricultural Year, 1st October 1887 to 30th September 1888.

THE Report on Land Revenue Administration in the Punjab for the agricultural year, 1st October 1887 to 30th September 1888, tells of a season of deferred and insufficient rainfall, sufferings from drought, and agricultural distress necessitating remissions of revenue.

In the kharif harvest there was an increase of ten lakhs of acres in the area under pulses and millets—unsatisfactory crops

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only resorted to at a pinch—and there was a falling off of 4½ lakhs of acres, or 41 per cent., in the area under cotton.

The price of wheat, which the Director of Land Records and Agriculture considers a fair index to the prices of other food grains, is held to have "ruled steady" throughout the year. By which is meant, that it was never cheap, and was dear during three months out of twelve.

The railways, we are told, helped greatly to maintain this steadiness. Indeed, they have "no doubt revolutionized the economic conditions of many parts of the Punjab during the last decade," and the Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that, on the whole, the new state of things will probably tend to the advantage of the people.

When a famine next unhappily occurs, it will be clearly incumbent upon Government to watch the state of markets and traffic in the early stages of distress more keenly and minutely than would have been the case under former conditions. The question of the food-supply and material condition of the poorer classes of the population has been under enquiry during the year, and it is satisfactory to note that it has been generally reported, that only in the case of the menial castes and the poorer classes of tenants, and then only in unusual years, is there any reason to believe that the standard of sustenance is apt to fall dangerously low. To meet the occurrence of special calamity, famine precautionary measures, including famine preventive and relief schemes, have been adopted in accordance with the principles laid down by Government for all districts which are likely to require them; and during the year under report the Provincial Famine Code was approved by the Government of India and issued to District Officers.

Apparently the Punjab Putwarees and Kanongoes have mended their ways; as is attested by a reduction in the number of unpassed Kanongoes from 112 to 60, while as regards Putwarees, it is hoped that in a few years the supply of candidates with educational qualifications will be sufficient to enable Collectors to reject all such as have not passed the Middle School Examination. Meanwhile, there is a tendency to increased activity on the part of Tehsildars; field maps flourish, and more care is bestowed on the preparation of accurate returns. It is abundantly clear from the extracts made from the reports of District Officers that a great and real improvement has taken place in the last few years, as regards all classes of revenue work connected with the maintenance of village records. At the same time it has to be admitted that perfection is far from having been attained. We take it, for our part, that when the *perfect* Putwaree is developed, it will be high time for the Millenium to set in.

Advances under the Land Improvement and Agriculturists' Loans Acts during the year amounted to Rs. 3,07,172 and Rs. 35,684 respectively, and recoveries, exclusive of interest, to Rs. 2,48,141 and Rs. 99,502. The allotment of the Province, under the former Act has been reduced from 5 to 4½ lakhs,

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while the allotment for loans under Act XII of 1884 has been raised from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 50,000. In certain cases advances under Act XII of 1884 have been made in circumstances which the Lieutenant-Governor thinks do not really justify such loans. As an instance of this may be noticed the advances made for the purchase of sugarcane seed mentioned in the report of the Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon. Sir James Lyall considers that advances for purchase of bullocks should be made only where there has been unusual loss of cattle by disease or famine, and that as regards loans for the purchase of seed, Government ought not to try to take the place of village traders' in ordinary times, and should make such loans only when it is found that in a certain tract, or some area not less than a whole village, the people, owing to some calamity, have not been able to keep up, or have lost their seed grain and cannot get it from the traders, or can only get it at very dear rates, and there is danger of a serious contraction of the area of sowing.

The Report contains much evidence of the growing importance of private and district canals, and minor irrigation works. The area served by these was 9,28,542 acres—or nearly half as much as the area irrigated from Government canals. Settlements were in progress during the year under review in North Umballa, Karnal-Umballa, Ferozepore and Gurdaspore ; and operations were commenced in other districts.

Sir. James Lyall had hoped in the present review to specially acknowledge the successful labours of Colonel Wace, First Financial Commissioner, in connection with the Punjab Tenancy and Land Revenue Acts, and to congratulate the Province upon his return from short furlough which the state of his health compelled him to take last spring. This, however, was not to be, as four days before this report was submitted to Government, Colonel Wace was suddenly taken away from those among whom he was working. It is only possible, therefore, for the Lieutenant-Governor to direct that the present review terminate with the republication of the notice of Colonel Wace's life and work which His Honor caused to be placed on record in the *Punjab Government Gazette* of March 28th, 1889.

Report on the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Penal Settlements of Port Blair and the Nicobars for the year 1887-88.

A pattern *imperium in imperio* is that of the Andaman Islands. We are glad to a learn that its conduct has been satisfactory and that the police presented "an appearance which might well be envied by many corps of the regular army." Under the heading *Criminal Justice* we are told that, for the third consecutive year, the cases in which free people were concerned has been the same, namely 45, whilst the number of free persons implicated has fallen from 62 to 57.

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Out of 19 acquittals, eight occurred in petty cases such as assault and insult, four in cases connected with theft, and the remaining five in cases under special laws, such as excise, and abetting convict offences. But the old Adam is still strong with some of the convict settlers, for eight cases of murder and attempt at murder are on the record. The estimated value of jail manufactures was Rs. 4,04,160 against Rs. 3,03,383 in the previous year, and the work of the Weaving Department has been carried on successfully and profitably. The same remark applies to the reclamation of 465 acres of mangrove swamp in the northern district, and 378 acres in the southern. Moreover 315 acres of virgin forest were cleared by Government labour and 193 acres by self-supporters. The tea garden at Navy Bay continues to flourish, and gave a net cash profit last year of Rs. 14,046. The garden at Goplakabung, though still in its infancy, has also done well. The seedlings of Liberian coffee planted out last year are also favourably reported on. The island forest department yielded a profit of Rs. 8,358 in cash, and book credits for Rs. 69,266. Padouk to the extent of 653 tons figures amongst the island exports. Whereas seven elephants died in 1886-87, only one succumbed during the year under review—a happy result attributed, we note, to resumption of the issue of grain rations. The sick rate amongst the convicts was 59·7 against 58·1 per *mille* in 1886-87; but the death-rate rose from 19·9 per *mille* to 24 per *mille*. The senior medical officer attributes this increase partially to the removal of the restriction in the selection of convicts for transportation to the Andamans. Convict clothing is manufactured at the female jail; and there were at work on the last day of the year 105 looms fitted with fly shuttles, exclusive of 20 looms put up in the refractory ward. Small gratuities were allowed to the women for work done, with the result of a large increase in the average outturn per loom. Employment was found for invalid convicts in making chairs, fancy baskets, &c., out of rattan. Burmese convicts, however, do not bear a good character with the authorities at the Andamans. They "have no idea of discipline, are constantly losing their tin numbers, and making away with their clothing and utensils; are malingerers and incorrigible thieves, and much addicted to running away.' Seventy-five convicts escaped during the year; but with the exception of seven all have been recaptured.

For public works the budget allotment for 1887-88 was Rs. 37,700: the cash expenditure was Rs. 37 565. The Chatham and Protheroepore Saw Mills worked successfully, turning out tea boxes which found a market in Calcutta. Workmanship in the district workshops continues to improve every year.

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About the Andaman Orphanage the Revd. C. H. Chard, who is in charge of it, writes :—

At the beginning of the year there were five Andamanese and four Nicobarese boys in the orphanage. In August, two Nicobarese boys were added, and again in November six sent by Mr. Man, the officer in charge of the Nicobars. In December last the orphanage teacher, Mr. Soloman, was left on Car Nicobar by the *Kwangtung* on one of the Chief Commissioner's tours through the islands, and after a stay of a few days, was picked up on the return voyage together with five boys—a further addition to the orphanage. Thus at the end of the year there were five Andamanese and seventeen Nicobarese boys in the institution.

It is to be regretted that the number of Andamanese orphans has remained stationary; but the rapidly approaching extinction of the race from which the boys are drawn sufficiently accounts for the fact, and indeed leads us to fear that even our present numbers may not be maintained. These five boys, however, have enjoyed the very best health all through the year. In April three of them took French leave, and vanished for a brief space into the jungle—a gratification which their Bohemian instincts seem to demand occasionally, for on the whole, they are very happy and contented under the mild restraint of the orphanage rule. Instruction has been regularly given to them, but very largely orally rather than though the medium of books—an irksome method of instruction for children of nature such as these. Their manners are good; in church their demeanour is singularly grave; they are fond of neat apparel when they appear in public and keep themselves tidy. They paid the parsonage a visit a short time ago and, as their manner is, circulated freely all over it. Observing one of their curly wigs more than ordinarily tidy, I suspected the owner of having indulged his vanity before my toilet glass and using my hair brushes. On enquiry, however, he proved innocent of the charge: he had only brushed up his curly locks with my blacking brush!

The influence of their Christian teacher and home has told favourably upon them, and I have no doubt that if in past years the boys had been in charge of a Christian master of high character, instead of being committed to the care of a convict heathen pahrawala, wide and lasting good would have been done. The boys are always in the company of their teacher.

Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the year 1887-88.

MR. A. L. HOME, Conservator of Forests, Bengal, has submitted his progress report for 1887-88, from which we gather that receipts were greater, and charges less than in the previous year, resulting in a profit on working of Rs. 2,67,426 or Rs. 36,573 more than in 1886-87, clear of charges, while the outturn of wood was 26,041,197 cubic feet solid. The total area of reserved forests on the 31st March 1888 was 3,191,381 acres.

We are glad to hear that the controlling staff has at last been brought up to its sanctioned strength, and now consists of one Conservator and twelve Deputy and Assistant Conservators. We are inclined to think that it would be economical to strengthen it still further, but forest work does not commend

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itself to the Bengalee Baboo. In his Resolution on Mr. Home's Report the Lieutenant-Governor says :—

"The unpopularity of the service among natives of India in these Provinces appears, from the Conservator's remarks, to have been as noticeable as ever, and it is stated that many applicants for appointment as foresters either declined to accept the posts offered them on learning that their head-quarters were located in the forests, or, having joined, remained in the service for a brief interval only. The circumstance was remarked with regret by the Government of India last year, and the suggestion was then thrown out that it might be desirable to try the experiment of importing foresters from other parts of India. This proposal has been considered by the Lieutenant-Governor in consultation with the Conservator, but it does not seem that effect can be given to it without increased expenditure; and although there is some difficult in obtaining candidates locally, it does not appear that it is by any means an insuperable one. The inhabitants of the Lower Provinces are of many races, and they cannot all be deficient in the tastes or qualification requisite for efficient service in the Department."

Paragraph 5 of the Resolution is suggestive. It runs thus :—

In consequence of the anomalous position occupied by the Forest Officer of the Gorruckpore Division in his operations on the Bengal side of the river, it was found that the old rules for the collection of drift timber in the river Gunduck had led to much friction between the Forest and Civil Officers, and in all probability to the considerable loss of revenue to Government. After full discussion, the rules have recently been superseded and amended, and it is hoped that the work will now be carried out more satisfactorily. Since the close of the year a proposal has been made to apply the rules to the Koosee river also.

A record of observations departmentally made, shows that forest regeneration by means of natural reproduction has generally succeeded well. Favourable accounts have been received from all the sub-divisions, especially in regard to sâl trees.

Records of the Geological Survey of India : Vol. XXII : Part 2 ; 1889.

THE May number of the records of the Geological Survey of India contains the following contributions :—

Note on Indian Steatile, compiled by F. R. Mallet, Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

Distorted pebbles in the Siwalik conglomerate ; by C. S. Middlemiss, B.A., Assistant Superintendent, Geological Survey of India. (With one plate).

"The Carboniferous Glacial Period." Further Note by Dr. W. Waagen, on a letter from Mr. C. Berby, concerning traces of a Carboniferous Glacial

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Period in S. America. Translated by E. C. Cotes, Assistant Superintendent, Indian Museum.

Notes on Dr. W. Waagen's "Carboniferous Glacial Period," by A. B. Wynne, F.G.S., and Dr. Ottokar Feistmantel.

Report on the Oil-Fields of Twingoung and Beme, Burma; by Fritz Noetling, Ph. D., Palæontologist, Geological Survey of India. (With one plate and a map).

The Gypsum of the Nehal Nadi, Kumaun; by C. S. Middlemiss, B.A. Assistant Superintendent, Geological Survey of India. (With a plate).

On some of the Materials for Pottery obtainable in the neighbourhood of Jamalpur and of Umaria; by F. R. Mallet, Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

Statistical Tables for British India.

WE have to thank the Government of Bengal for a Blue Book containing comprehensive, and carefully compiled Statistical Tables for British India. It must prove a most useful work of reference.

In order to give some idea of its contents, we cannot do better than quote the index on the title page:—

PART 1.—Census.
2.—Emigration.
3.—Railways.
4.—Forests.
5.—Chinchona Cultivation.
6.—Tea Cultivation.
7.—Coffee Cultivation.
8.—Cotton Cultivation.
9.—Cotton Mills.
10.—Jute Mills.
11.—Woollen Mills.
PART 12.—Paper Mills.
13.—Breweries.
14.—Collieries.
15.—Large Industries.
16.—Joint Stock Companies.
17.—Salt Revenue.
18.—Customs Revenue.
19.—Foreign Trade.
20.—Foreign Shipping.
21.—(Shipping) Wrecks

Returns of the Rail-borne Trade of Bengal, for the quarter ending the 31st December 1888.

WE have to thank the Bengal Secretariat for *Returns of the Rail-borne Trade of Bengal*, for the quarter ending the 31st December 1888. They do not call for any special remark.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

General Literature.

The Status of Woman in India: or a hand-book for Hindu Social Reformers. By Dayaram Gidumal, B.A., LL.B., C.S., Fellow of the Bombay University. Bombay: Printed at the "Fort Printing Press," 1889.

THIS is a compendium of the various opinions of a great number of gentlemen, distinguished and otherwise, on the subject of infant marriage, marriage expenses, enforced widowhood, the proper age for consummation of marriage and so forth. Here is what Sir Auckland Colvin has to say :—

The first thing to be done is to obtain from a large consensus of opinion amongst educated and influential natives a declaration hostile to these customs. If, as I understand from you, they rest on insecure legal bases, assistance should be given by natives interested in the matter, with the view of obtaining test decisions. . . . . You need not to be reminded that, in matters of this kind, the Government cannot help you unless and until you help yourselves. . .

Try and get up, in each province, societies having for their aim the object you are advocating, encourage discussion, however bitter in its tone against you personally; and be no respecter of persons. Plain misrepresentations are best met by plain truths.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is of much the same opinion as the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. He says :—

At all events Government ought not to take the initiative. I think if a number of memorials from different associations all over the country, urging action and agreeing on a special line of action, were submitted, the hands of Government would be so far strengthened, that they might be justified in moving in the matter, and what I would suggest is that the associations all over the country which take an interest in the matter, be urged to adopt this method. . . I suppose the most hopeful outlook on this question is that the guidance of caste feeling will gradually fall into the hands of educated men who will lend their influence, and thus that of the caste, in support of the object you have in view.

This is the opinion of the Gaekwar of Baroda :—

I do not doubt that your programme is a workable one, and although no hard or fast rules can be laid down to control the evils, the natural leaders of the community can lend the weight of their influence in discouraging

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such practices; and my firm belief is that before the general public can take such an advanced view, the female population particularly must be brought under the civilizing influence of the school. Though I am fully aware that it is difficult to increase the age, I would not like to see it under full thirteen for consummation.

Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, C. I. E., betrays a dense ignorance, when he writes about English maids. It is impossible for him to have any conception of English chastity. It seems that he cannot even conceive the possibility of virtue in women. In reply to a communication from Mr. Malabari, we find him writing :—

Your picture about the immorality resulting from widowhood is highly over-painted. . . Under the present state of human civilisation there must aways be a large number of men who will not or cannot marry, and as the proportion of men and women of marriageable age is all but exactly the same, there must always be large numbers of women who cannot get husbands, and nature must prevail in most of these, and the result will be immorality. There is no escaping out of the difficulty. Every widow married takes away a husband from a maid, and your utmost efforts result in converting a number of maids into fallen women. The less the number of widows, the greater the number of maids who can never have husbands. You must not conclude from this that I am an enemy to widow-marriage : far from it ; I yield to none in advocating widow-marriage, but, advocate it on the broad ground of individual liberty of choice and not on account of immorality possible or contingent. You know well enough that in England maids number not by thousands but by hundreds of thousands, and you will not have the hardihood to tell me that all of them or the bulk of them are chaste or for the matter of that more chaste than our widows. Nor can you tell me that unchaste maids are better than unchaste widows.

Rai Bahadur Sirdar Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, late Joint Sessions Judge and Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, writes :—

It must not be forgotten that priests derive a very large benefit from perpetual widowhood. A widow thinks that her misfortunes arise from her not having attended to religious duties in former lives, and therefore she must devote her time and wealth to pilgrimages and so on. The wealth of most widows is devoured by priests. It is the widows, rich and poor, who maintain priesthood in luxury.

Rai Mulraj, M. A., Extra Assistant Commissioner, Gurdaspur, writes :—

Ask any ordinary Hindu his views about widow marriage and he will tell you that widow marriage goes against Dharma. . . . . Mr. Malabari perhaps does not know that against widow marriage the opinion of women among Hindus is even stronger than of men.

Ambalal S. Desai says :—

Speaking of Gujarat, I may safely assert that it (the evil of enforced widowhood) exists in a very small degree among the agricultural classes who form the main bulk of the total population. It is in the urban communities, the Brahmins, the Banyas, and the kindred classes, that widowhood is enforced as an institution. Even among them the number of cases of females that are condemned by custom, prejudice, social

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tyranny and the like, to lifelong misery and whose age may excite compassion, is very small. I believe the census reports will bear out these remarks.

As things stand now, few, if any, high class widows will think of complaining of the ill-treatment of them by their relatives or even strangers. There will be complaints, no doubt, but, I fear they will mostly be found to have proceeded from women of no character, acting from mean and selfish motives, whom it will be hardly proper to encourage by a free offer of State support.

A Visit to Europe. By T. N. Mukharji. Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 4, Dalhousie Square. London: Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross, 1889.

MR. T. N. Mukharji was one of the three Indian delegates sent by the Government to take notes on the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886, and as he had no intention of writing any account of his travels, he kept no notes of them. On his return, however, to India, he was requested by the Manager of the *Indian Nation* to furnish that paper with a narrative of his foreign experiences, which he did in a series of weekly contributions, which are now reprinted in the volume before us.

The book, as one may well imagine, is diffuse and somewhat stagey, though interspersed with shrewd remarks and observations, and not entirely destitute of fine writing. Take this quotation from the opening chapter for instance:—

The sun had finished his day's work and prepared to retire for the night. Gradually he ceased to send forth his dazzling rays to the world below, his orb grew larger and milder, and at length putting on a red garb, which shed on the western firmament a glory of deep crimson, he suddenly dived into the blue waves of the distant horizon. The shades of evening now enveloped the world, and the reflection of the stars played backwards and forwards on the broad bosom of the ocean as the ship rolled up and down.

What struck our traveller most when in the great heart of London, was its extreme neatness and cleanliness, and the wealth displayed on all sides. He expresses his unqualified admiration of Westminster bridge as "one of the most beautiful bridges" he had ever seen in his life, and the waters of the Thames as "silvery." He then gives us a glimpse of the underground railway, and the other modes of locomotion both by land and water, all of which takes up a good deal of space. Under the protection of Sir George Birdwood, however, he has every opportunity of seeing "English society" in its best aspect, and naturally gets interested in politics, especially in the Irish question, about which he says:—

The people of India are watching with keen interest this Irish controversy; for they know that in time to come, though it may be very remote to-day, England will have to decide a bigger Home Rule question—the Home Rule for India.

Discoursing of Nihilists and their plots, Mr. Mukharji

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remarks that "to fight or die for an idea is beyond the conception of the Indian mind."

The following is an extract from the chapter devoted to the Exhibition :—

The jewellery and most of the superior kinds of Indian art-ware were sold within a few days after the opening of the Exhibition. Besides jewellery, other articles that found most favour are pottery, metal-ware and lacquered-ware. The glazed pottery of Bombay, Halla, Multan, Jaipur and Khurja were all immediately sold. A happy adaptation on the Bombay pottery of scenes depicting Indian life two thousand years ago, painted on the walls of the Ajanta cave temples, lent an additional interest to the plates and jars made in the "Wonderland Pottery Works." The realistic nature and the artistic value of these paintings can only be expressed in Mr. Griffith's own words who, admiring a scene known as the "Dying Princess," says that—"For pathos and sentiment, and the unmistakeable way of telling its story, the picture cannot, I consider, be surpassed in the history of art." The Khurja pottery of *terracotta* ground with green ornaments was universally liked. Benares brass-ware, shining like gold, made a very picturesque show, and their low prices placed them within the reach of poorer visitors, who wanted to carry away with them a token of their visit to the Exhibition. Nor was the sober coloured ware made in Moradabad less in demand. The lacquered wooden articles of Pâkpattan, Derâ Ismail Khân and other places in the Panjâb found a ready sale. But ivory work, embroidery, shawls and textile fabrics did not find much favour. Immense quantities of bead bracelets and necklets (*Rudrâksha*) were sold to ladies. Many visitors, who came late and found everything worth having, sold, were most disappointed. Among them, I am sorry to say, Professor Max Müller was one.

Mr. Mukharji acknowledges that

Eight months' time is too short a period to study a people and whatever opinion I formed of them I state with great hesitation, specially, considering how very soon a change, pleasurable though it was, came over my first impressions with the rapid expansion of my experience of English life. At first I took the English to be a selfish people, but when I considered the noble sacrifices every day credited to Englishmen all over the world, I abandoned this idea. History has related a thousand instances of their self-sacrifice for public good, and thousands occur every year in private life which are not cognizable to history.

Nevertheless :—

I thought the English uncharitable. But who support thousands of schools and dispensaries in England, subscribe princely sums to famine funds, establish scientific institutes, found libraries, endow museums and bequeath large fortunes for the benefit of future generations? These are, generally, private persons. The same man, who would not only refuse a penny to a hungry beggar but hand him over to the police, would the next day give a hundred thousand pounds for the foundation of a hospital for the blind and the infirm. A principle guides an Englishman in all his actions and he firmly adheres to it.

On the much-abused and misunderstood drink question, Mr. Mukharji writes moderately, and the following excerpt gives one the ideas of an oriental of what he is pleased to designate English castes :—

English castes may be roughly summarised as follows :—(1) Royal

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family and the upper circle of old nobility ; (2) lower circle of old nobility ; (3) untitled relations of nobility with independent means, recently created nobility. and merchant princes who have formed marriage connections with aristocratic families ; (4) near relations of nobility without any independent means waiting for a bequest or on the look out for a good marriage. These form what is called the "upper ten thousand" or the "society," which patronise, tolerate or lionise individuals not born in the purple, who have acquired eminence in the race course, theatres, fine arts, science, literature or in public service. Among the non-society men there are innumerable castes based chiefly on money, a slight deference being also paid to birth. Like the Hindus, the English people do not eat, drink, or form marriage connections with individuals of a lower caste, and like our pious Bráhmans the punctilious man among them would plunge into a bath immediately after his return from a meeting of low caste people which he had to attend for electioneering or other purposes. Sometimes he takes a perfumed bath to thoroughly cleanse himself of the defilement. Once I asked a gentleman the reason for this : he gave me the same reason as a Travancore Bráhman would give for not touching a Pulliah. In the matter of food and drink caste-rules are not so strict there as they are in India, for in that country religion has not made such rules sacred and solid. An English Bráhman is allowed to eat and drink with a low caste man in hotels, passenger ships and other public places, in short where he cannot help it. But it must be said to his credit that even on such occasions he does his best to keep his caste intact by holding himself as much aloof as he can from people of lower grades. In passenger ships he soon forms a separate circle composed of people of his own rank, among whom he sits and with whom he takes the afternoon tea, that being the only occasion when it is possible for him to shew his superiority. Although such occasional mixing with people in lower grades of life does not make the English Bráhman liable to lose his caste, he must not therefore too freely mix with them. His people would look down upon him if he did so. High caste women and clergymen are however allowed to go to poor people's houses on charitable purposes.

Intermarriage between high and low castes is not to be thought of, except in cases where a poor English Bráhman is obliged to marry for the sake of money into the family of a merchant who has recently acquired his wealth and wants to get into society. The bride and his people are taken into society not without much grumbling, and it is only in subsequent generations that the family can thoroughly establish itself in it. But woe to him who marries a low caste woman without money : down descends upon him the thunder of excommunication.

Then we have an account of a luncheon at Windsor at the Queen's command, with a sketch of the State apartments ; and within a week of the visit to Windsor, of a garden party at Marlborough House, in which he deprecates his inability to describe the dress worn by the Princess of Wales on the occasion, but makes amends by declaring her to be the goddess of the English people, worshipped and beloved by all, the pride of the nation. After the Marlborough House festivities, came a ball given by the Lord Mayor of London in honor of the Indian and Colonial representatives ; then a peep into Drury Lane and the Alhambra, and lastly a visit by special train to exploit His Grace the Duke of Bedford's experimental farm at Nobwen.

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Our author next "does" Scotland and is charmed with every thing he saw there, and lastly bids adieu to England on the 13th December to pay a flying visit to Haarlem and from thence to Paris. We need not, however, detain the reader by retailing many personal incidents, as in this part of the book there is nothing special to record, but would refer them to the book itself which, if not instructive to the European mind, will however give a fair idea how such things are viewed though the lenses of an Asiatic mind veneered over with Western high education.

India: a Descriptive Poem By H. B. W. Garrick, Esq., Assistant Archæologist to the Government of India. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1889.

POETA nascitur non fit is an assumption as old as the universe. Mr. Garrick has felt himself called upon to write in poetry, and he has thus spoilt what might have been a more or less useful Guide to India for the sake of a quasi-Spenserian stanza.

Mr. Garrick styles his lucubration *India: a descriptive poem;* and therewith starts from some indefinite point in *Aryavárta*—defined by him by the way, as "an ancient name for India."

What time this land was Aryavarta named,
And its triangle* of vast hills and plains,
The leal stock held of Aryans whilome famed,
Whose blood has since endur'd so many stains—
Now runs in myriad channels, myriad strains,
Breeds, tribes and sects and castes and creeds and guilds.
Where now this doutremer, now that one, reigns;
No tribe for long the Indic sceptre wields,
And huge chaotic mass a Babel-medly builds;

The system of caste arose, it appears, from the monstrous and incidented superiorities in the behaviour of subdued and subduers:—

While last the *monsons*, † Bengal seems a lake,
So here the Aryans sang for rain no more,
Nor drove their flocks a-stream their thirst to slake,
As they were wont to do in days of yore:
Here meek serfs brought their wants up to the door
Whilst they scorn'd business of the herds and leas,
And learnt mankind to govern, and ruled o'er
The rude, submissive aborigines
Yclept Gonds and Sonthāls, Kols, Nāgas and Swiris.

All this was very pretty as far as it went; but

"Thus wise arist the bellic drueric deeds
The which gave birth to Asya's epic strain."

---

* The abstract conformation of India is described by the earliest Eastern geographers as a triangle.

† The seasonal rains.

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Thus wise also arist priestly supremacy. For—

"Soon the priests began to wield
A right more searching strong than warriors's sword and shield."

By virtue of superior knowledge and constant cohesion they became an aristocracy, more powerful than Rome's, a hierarchy with more widespread influence than the Papal throne and cardinalate of the middle ages:—

The people no more saw the flashing sword
And battle-axe of Rājnayas * who won
This fairest land; but ever heard the word
Of gain that fell to sacrifices done
By saintly, Brahman wights who thereupon
Pre-eminent grew o'er the unarmèd roy'ls,
Transform'd the old, religious faith † to one
That made them first in privilege and spoil ‡ —
Of all goods things the heirs, exempt from toils and moils.§

Mr. Garrick deplores the dissensions and intrigues that followed; is angry because the Brahmins of Oudh refused to intermarry with the Brahmins of Bengal; resents the Brahman ordained law of etiquette—

Of hairbreadth etiquette which o'ershadows all.

He wants to know—

Have men no grace to hope or dread complore?

To remedy this sad state of things, Mr. Garrick takes an excursion into Buddhism—a cult that seems to have found favour with our author, who writes *apropos* of Buddha Gautama:—

In that prince sweetly sung by Avon's swan,
Who pray'd for his release from this vile clay,‖

---

* *i.e.*, princely races—the Kshatriyas, or warriors, from amongst whom the Indian kings were chosen.

† The foundation of the sharper caste distinctions is assigned by M. Duncker to 800 B. C., and the rise of Brahmanism, by M. Müller, at between 800 and 600 B. C.

‡ Aristobulus tells us he saw two Brahmans in an Indian market, where they took what food they liked—*e.g.*, honey and sesame—without charge, and that all the laity anointed them with sesame oil.

§ The king, though dying of hunger, may not take tribute from the Brahman, who pays his sixth (the usual tribute of the other orders) in intercessions and prayers.—Manu, vii. 133, and Bohlen, *Indien*, ii. 46.

‖ "O, that this too too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew."

Hamlet, act i. sc. 2.

This, if it went no further, would strike the true note of the advanced pessimism of Buddha's philosophy. We see, however, in act iii. sc. 1, reference to the "something after death," which is eminently foreign to the Buddhistic notion of the eternal nothingness which they call *Nirvāna*.

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A light like Būddh's glow'd, though more pale and
wan;
For it could not suffice to show his way,
And still he spoke 'neath orthodoxy's sway,
Of ill "we know not of," and of a "bourn,"
And Cowardice, and all the dread array
Of fears that fright the weak:—The Būddh has torn
From his Nirvāna, *being*—hence power to joy or mourn.

* * * * *

The next verse begins—

Now tarry I: can I remember ought of India's wars?

And then, after due reference to immortal Homer, the Mantuan's hero Æneas and Mr. MacPherson's Ossian, he leads his readers through an abbreviated issue of *Mahabharata*—a most sanguinary business:—

Wheel lock'd in wheel, the tangled, blood-stain'd cars
Y rode by heroes, dash right o'er the Dead;
Loud clang bright arms,—and as the flow'r-born Mars *
And Diomedes, Dards and Grecians led,—
So Kūrūs and Pandavs each had brave head:
The first had Bhishma vet'ran of the clan,
With Duryodhan, who fought in cars that sped:
The Pandūs had Yūdhishtra in their van,
And eke his brothers four—a hero every man.

There is of course a lot about the invasion of Alexander the Great. *Apropos* of his famous battle with Porus, we are told:—

The wary Macedonian had decreed
To spread his forces thin with gaps between,—
The madden'd elephants nor riders heed
Nor goring irons, but with an anguish keen
Down pight dense-rangèd friends, while fone escape
serene;

The next line is—

Hither and thither rage the monsters brems.

We should like to know the meaning of brem. Also the meaning of the previous line.

Canto 2 of this remarkable poem opens with a bird's eye view of the national dress. Thus:—

Pathāns † shave pates; but Sikhs ‡ ne'er cut the hair—
Both turbans wear: one pointed, t'other round.
Bengalees § always keep the head quite bare,
Nor cover it when May's suns scorch the ground.
The Bombay Pārsees|| with black mitres crown'd,

---

* Mars (according to Ovid) was the son of Juno and a flower.
† Afghans.
‡ A warlike sect called *Sikhs*="disciples," founded by Gūrū Nanak.
§ People of Bengal.
|| The original fire-worshippers of Persia, now settled in the S. W. provinces of British India.

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Are thus proclaim'd Zor'astrian Ghebers old
Who for their household gods a refuge found
In India's southern ports, when Islām bold
Made mosques of their fire-altars, moslems of their fold.

Of Bengalee dress in special it is thus written :—

But further to the east—in Bengal's swamp—
The peasant's wardrobe is far less replete ;
Nor have they need of much Sartorian pomp
Where fifty is the lowest Fahrenheit ;
Hence bare their heads, arms, bodies, legs and feet ;
With small loin-cloth alone they are engirt.—
The female's dress in one cloth is complete,
Called *sārī* which "does" bonnet, jacket, skirt.
The minimum of cloth and maximum of dirt.

These are the only national costumes
Bengalee ; for the hybrid dress of those
Above the peasantry, freely assumes
Our own Britannic articles of clothes :
Our shirt serves them for jacket,—lady's hose
Like histrionic "tights" worn, are their trews,
And reach up to their loin-cloth from their toes ;
Essential, too, are patent leather shoes,
Wights paramented thus we clepe Bengal Babūs. *

Dress disposed of, we are afforded much information about tombs, ruined cities, and monuments of sorts.

Here is Mr. Garrick's farewell :—

Farewell, Farewell to regal India !
Tempter of many a Naval sail and oar
From Greece, Gaul, Portugal ; just now we are
The British warders of thy briny door.
Great are thy stores of Love and Beauty's lore,
In esse and in the pages of thy scribes,
O Hind ! I mourn thee 'mid these billow's roar,
As this good barque her anchor-chain imbibes,
And the unsalted writhe 'mid Neptune's covert gibes.

We regret to add that a more unfortunate book than this we have seldom come across. Mr. Garrick will no doubt be surprised to be told that throughout this poem he has been talking prose. He evidently has a wealth of knowledge about India, and we cannot help thinking he has absolutely thrown it away by giving it to the public in this shape.

Colburn's United Service Magazine, with which is incorporated the Army and Navy Magazine. March 1889. London : W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, S. W.

COLBURN'S United Service Magazine for March opens with a suggestive article on "The Arming of Field Artillery." Colonel the Hon'ble A. Parnell, R. E. (retired), gives his opinions as to the connection of military officers and the press, and

* An honorific prefix applied in Bengal to the gentry.

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deprecates anonymity. Mr. Charles J. Cooke translates from the Russian a paper by A. V. Eliséef, on *The Importance of Asia Minor for Russia.* Lieut. Chamberlain, R. N., discusses the inefficiency of the present system of Naval Education. There are also several miscellaneous contributions. Altogether this is a specially interesting number of Colburn's.

A Simplified Grammar and Reading Book of the Panjābī Language: By the Rev. Wm. St. Clair Tisdall, M.A., C.M.S., (one of the Hebrew Examiners, University of Bombay, &c., &c.,) London : Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1889.

MESSRS. Trübner & Co. of Ludgate Hill are perhap, more potent arbiters of education in India than Sir Alfred Croft even, or any other distinguished Director of Public Instruction. One of their latest aids to the cause they serve is "A Simplified Grammar and Reading Book of the Panjābī language, by the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, M.A. A judiciously compiled and altogether commendable handbook for students.

Serious Crime in an Indian Province : By Eustace J. Kitts, B.C.S. Bombay : Printed at the Education Society's Presss, Byculla, 1889.

THIS book is a reprint, with additions, of some articles in the "Pioneer." Mr. Kitts is a Bengal Civilian of some fourteen years experience, and hence the book is full of varied but solid information regarding the subject treated. Mr. Kitts prefaces his book with a consideration of the special causes influencing crime, such as season, density of population, geographical position, existence of criminal tribes and the like. He then treats of murder, dacoity, robbery, cattle-theft, house-breaking and ordinary theft.

It is shown that the districts on either side of the Jumna suffer from being in different provinces, and from the consequent absence of a common head aud unity of action. "The cattle lifters from Saharanpur down to Bulandshahr, are quick to take advantage of this fact : avoiding the ordinary fords, and swimming their cattle across the stream, they disappear into another province. The case is much more serious when a native State is the neighbour, for here, in addition to an occasional loss of touch, there is a vital difference of police organisation." The author might have said that in many cases there is an entire absence of police organisation. He notes that Moradabad and Bareilly suffer from the proximity of the little native State of Rampur; Bhartpur, Dholpur and Gwalior are troublesome neighbours to Muttra and Agra,

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while Banda and Hamirpur suffer from bordering on Bundelcund. Such facts are only too well known to the administrators of British districts bordering on native territory. The Tributary States, which march with Orissa, afford a refuge for criminals: Hill Tipperah is an obstacle to following up the perpetrators of crimes in Tipperah; while cattle-raiders into Chumparun, Durbhunga and Purneah make Nepal their basis of operation. The greatest difficulties, in this respect, are said to be experienced by the British districts which adjoin the Nizam's territory. Inter-provincial difficulties are being to some extent removed under the Act which amended the Police Act, V of 1861. Sarun (Lower Provinces) is separated by a river from Goruckpore (N.-W. P.), and thieves run from one to the other. Within the province, thanks to several conferences that have been held for drawing up rules on the subject, the communication between the police of different districts has become much closer, and the vagrant criminal classes are beginning with dismay to perceive the difference. "Anyone," says the writer, "wishing to form a practical and dispassionate estimate of the result of thirty years' British rule, could not do better than, taking General Sleeman's Diary in his hand and following his footsteps, compare what he himself sees with the description recorded forty years ago (of Oudh) by that accurate and impartial observer." But whom has the writer in his mind's eye, when he says "anyone?" The man who in these days of party and politics wishes to form a truthful and dispassionate estimate of the results of British rule is, as the writer no doubt knows well, a veritable "rara avis in terris," whether he is a white swan or a black swan. The Member of Parliament migratory swan only wants such facts as will fit in with and coroborate his preconceived hobbies and prejudices. The native swan is prone to dilate on the excellent management of Native States, but all the same he takes good care to praise only from a safe distance—*pulcrino e longinquo!*

The phases of crime are much the same in all provinces: each and every province can show its ghastly list of murders. "One woman is recorded as having had an intrigue with her own son-in-law." Such cases are not rare: intrigues between fathers and daughters are more rare, but not unknown. A girl of seventeen who had not yet gone to live with her husband, poisoned her child with opium and dhatura; a Thakur widow suffocated her illegitimate baby; a Brahmani widow had a child by a Chamar; another had a child by a Brahman, and cut it in two with a bill-hook; a third killed her child and buried it in her own house. These cases may all be cited as instances of the evil of enforced

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widowhood. Another woman forced a needle into her child's brain; a second choked her infant with tobacco; a third thrust her baby into an earthen pitcher; a fourth battered in her child's head with a stone; a fifth placed her infant on a slab and strangled it by bending a stick over its wind-pipe." The author mentions a curious case, in which a leper killed a boy in order to eat his liver as a cure for his leprosy. Instances of murder, *in order to* charge some enemy with the crime, are unknown in the annals of Western crime, and we have known Europeans who have refused to believe that there can be such cases. "A man in Jhansi killed his daughter because his neighbour had slandered her, in order that the girl's blood might be upon the neighbour's head. A master murdered his servant and threw the body before his enemy's door, solely in order to bring a false charge against the latter. A similar case occurred in Azimgur five years later: a boy was murdered by his grandfather and uncle; they threw the body into a sugar-cane field, and then charged the owner with the crime.

The author's remarks about dacoity will be read with interest by those who do not know the country: but there is nothing new to those who have to administer justice. Revenge or lust, and not gain, are occasionally the motives for dacoity, and this fact, together with the cruelty of dacoits, may be reasons for the readiness of native juries to convict in dacoity cases. The author mentions a dacoity in a Brahman's house in Sitapur, in which the leader of the party raped the Brahman's wife. It is said that young bloods in Burmah sometimes commit dacoity to secure some young woman who has rejected their advances. Moreover, a man shows his prowess by conducting a successful dacoity: it is regarded as a sort of "baptism of fire," and the Burmese lasses are more ready to bestow their favours on those who have received their "baptism of dacoity." Where such ideas prevail, no wonder Sir Charles Crosthwaite finds it difficult to stamp out dacoity. The diabolical cruelty of dacoits is notorious; they used to pile tow steeped in oil on old women and set fire to it, in order to compel disclosure of treasure. Even now cases are known in which a blazing torch is held to a woman's breast for the same purpose.

The book deals only with serious crime; but ordinary crime (including non-cognizable offences) would afford material for a far more interesting book: the custom, manners, and habits of a people are principally discernible in non-cognizable* crime.

* A non-cognizable offence is an offence for which a police officer may not arrest without a warrant.

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The Indian Church Quarterly Review : April, 1889. The Oxford Mission Press, Calcutta.

THE subject of the first article is "The Community Life as a Missionary Method." This is split into two portions, each by a different writer. Both portions are thoughtfully and earnestly written. The Rev. A. Clifford is of opinion that the strict rule of contemplation and secluded life is now-a-days unwholesome ; that the reasons which excused it in former times do not exist now. What he approves of is the community of life in its active aspect, that is, an association of men agreeing to live and work together for the sake mainly of the good of those who are outside their own body. He does not approve of the celibate life as an absolute condition of Missionary work.

"It may be right and reasonable for supporters of Missions to require, for the sake of economy, that a certain proportion of Missionaries shall be unmarried men, or that all shall remain unmarried till they have worked a certain term of years ; but in my opinion, it would be unjust in itself, and as impolitic as it would be unjust, to refuse men for Mission work merely because they are married or are intending eventually to marry."

The Church Missionary Society does not ask any vow of poverty ; now does it approve vows of celibacy. It believes that the married state is a holy and honourable one,—quite as holy and honourable in itself as the unmarried state. It holds there is no virtue in celibacy as such, and that it is only valuable as enabling a man in certain positions to practise a greater economy and more undistracted attention to work. Under the same title, Miss Goreh points out the undoubted success of sisterhoods in England : and advocates the formation of Indian sisterhoods. There is no reason why European, Eurasian and native women should not be able to live and work together.

The Rev. A. G. Lewis continues to write of "The Position and Prospects of the Church in India." The article contains several good and original suggestions. The writer points out that Missionaries have hitherto mainly directed their efforts to the conversion of the lower castes, making few, feeble and very occasional attempts to convert the higher castes. Such a system would appear to be radically wrong. Conversion in India should proceed from the higher to the lower castes. Convert the higher castes and the barrier of caste will be broken down, for Christianity knows nothing of it, and it is absurd to suppose that the lower castes will refuse the privilege of being elevated to the platform on which the higher stand. Convert the lower castes, and the iron bands of caste are riveted with threefold strength. The writer considers the question, How best to take advantage of the religious ferment which is moving India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas ? There are elements of religious truth even in the heathen systems,

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and Missionaries must not altogether neglect them. India is only waiting for the touch which shall complete the process of evolution. Some natives throw in their lot with the Brahmo Somáj ; some are in a state of suspended judgment ; some are avowed agnostics ; many are weighing Christianity. India is waiting for the truth, and ready to accept it. Christianity, thinks Mr. Lewis, appears to be naturally the next step in the evolution of the spiritual life of the people ; and there are good reasons for agreeing with him. Certainly the Church in India has a glorious future open before her as a Missionary agency.

In his notice of the Indian Reviews the Editor points out that we were wrong in saying that the *Calcutta Review* was the only Quarterly Review published in India. What we meant was, that the *Calcutta Review* was the only general review that would accept articles on all subjects. It was far from our wish to disparage Mr. Dyer's excellent and well-established publication, and in compliance with his suggestion we gladly make this explanation. We need not say that we have the kindliest feelings towards our contemporary. We should also mention the existence of the "Indian Evangelical Review," the well-known "Quarterly Journal of Missionary Thought and Effort," edited by the Rev. K. S. Macdonald.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Pándaver Ajnátavása, or the Exile in Disguise : a drama in seven acts : by Surendra Nátha Bandyopádhyáya : Válmiki Press ; Calcutta ; 1293 B. C.

THIS is a drama written for representation at the local theatres. The subject is borrowed from the inexhaustible repertory of the *Mahábhárata*, and comprises the whole of the *Viráta Parba* of that great epic. The opening scene is laid in the *Dvaita-vana* or primeval forest, to which the five Pándava Princes had exiled themselves in honourable fulfilment of a wager lost by them at a game of dice played with their cousins, the Kauravas, who coveted their lands and goods. The terms of the wager included twelve years' lonely exile to the forest, which is supposed to be over at the commencement of the play, followed by one year's residence in disguise, on condition that discovery or recognition by their enemies would entail the penalty of exile for another period of twelve years, followed again by a year's residence in disguise. The Pándavas selected the Court of King Viráta as a safe place where they could remain *incognito*. The five Princes assumed five pseudonyms and entered the service of King Viráta in different capacities ; their joint Queen-Consort Draupadí, entering the service of the Queen under the name of Sairindhri.

Kichaka, brother of the Queen and Commander-in-Chief of the Viráta forces, enamoured of Draupadí's beauty, attempted

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to outrage her modesty. Bhím, the second Pándava brother, apprised of his evil intentions, concerted a plan with Draupadí, made her appoint a place to meet the lover, met him at the appointed place, and took revenge on the wicked monster by murdering him. Suspicion naturally fell on Draupadí, who was accordingly arrested, tried and ordered to be executed. But the improbability of the fact that a strong man like Kichaka could be murdered by a tender woman, coupled with her frequent warnings that she was attended by avenging *gandharvas* terrified the King who finally released her.

Meanwhile, the news of the death of Kichaka, who was universally feared, spread far and wide, and several Kings attempted to conquer the Kingdom of Viráta. At their head were the Kauravas, the cousins of the Pándavas. They invaded the country with a large army. But the Pándavas knowing that their term of one year's residence in disguise was over, assumed their proper names, helped the King, and defeated the invading armies. On the repulse of the enemies King Viráta overcome with gratitude, acknowledged the eldest of the Pándava brothers as his lord and súzerain, and gave his daughter in marriage to the nephew of Yudhisthira.

This episode forms a story complete in itself, but by treating it desultorily, the present writer has failed to preserve the unity so necessary in drama, as well as the necessary sequence of events, wherein effects follow as matters of course from their causes. The writer is strong at descriptions, and has a thorough command of the language in which he writes.

The versification of the piece is the broken and irregular blank verse introduced in English by Southey in his *Thalaba*, and of which Shelley's *Queen Mab* is a fine example. It is well suited for the purpose of a play abounding in stirring incidents, but in unpractised hands has a tendency to degenerate into mere prose.

Gítinátyábalí : By Rádhánátha Mitra : published by Sáradá Prasáda Mukhopádyáya : Great Eden Press : Calcutta ; 1295 B.S.

IT is a collection of operettas, dealing with social and mythological subjects. The pieces were, we believe, acted from time to time at the Bengal Theatre of Calcutta. The following synopsis of their contents will show the kind of stuff which seems to please the play-going Bengalis of the period :—

1. *Ushá-Harana.*—The plot is borrowed from the *Mahábárata*. It is a simple love story in which a youthful couple become enamoured of each other in a dream, before they had set their eyes on each other. They are united secretly ; but the fact coming to the knowledge of the maiden's father, who is no less a person than the King of the *Daityas*, he defies the father of the lover to mortal combat in order to settle their

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quarrel. At last the parties are reconciled with each other by Mahádeva and Dúrgá and the union of the lovers is ratified.

2. *A'gamani-Bijayá.*—A poem on the advent and departure of the goddess *Durgá* to and from her parental abode.

3. *Pranaya Párijáta.*—An adaptation of Shakespere's comedy of the *Tempest.* The plot is simplified and altered, not very happily we should think.

4. *Máyabatí.*—The story is borrowed from the *Chandí* of *Kavikankana.* The hero is a huntsman, and a devoted worshipper of the goddess Durgá, who finally attains the rewar of his devotion.

5. *Meghete Bijalí.*—Or the story of the good King Harisha Chandra, who in fulfilment of a pledge gave away his kingdom to Viswámitra, and when he had nothing left him, sold himself and his wife to slavery. After undergoing a series of heart-rending and humiliating trials, he triumphed at last over his enemies and was translated to heaven bodily, along with his attached and loving subjects. The story is derived from the *Mahábárata.*

6. *Kamale Kámaní*—Or the story of the first Bengal merchant Srimanta. He saw the goddess Lakshmí seated on a lotus in mid-ocean. The story is told with realistic details by Kavikankana.

7. *Hara-Vilápa.*—Being the familiar story of the *Daksha Yájna* taken from the *Mahábárata.*

8. *Banik-Duhitá.*—A tale of female devotion and chastity borrowed from the *Puránas.* The hero of the piece died from snake-bite on his wedding night, but was brought back to life through the devoted intercessions of his newly-married wife.

9. *Nava-Básara* or *Právása Yajna.*—A story of Krishna and his amours.

10. *A'shá-latá.*—An original piece by the author. It is a pastoral love story disfigured by exaggerations and palpable improbabilities. Compared with his other productions, it does little credit to our author.

It will be seen from the above that the author's mind is still in leading strings, and can hardly trust itself to realistic delineations of life and character. The stories from the *Mahábárata* and other classical poems, however improbable, commend themselves, we should think, by their archaic beauties. The writer is never so happy in his delineations as when recounting the achievements of his mythological heroes and heroines. We would advise our author to draw less from his books, and study life and manners more closely than he seems to have done. The first attempts may not be encouraging, but we have no doubt that his perseverance in this direction will be ultimately crowned with success.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies. For 1887-88.
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 178.—OCTOBER, 1889.

ART. I.—THE INDIAN ARMY.

1. *The Native Army of Bengal: its constitution, organization, interior economy, and equipment.* By MAJOR-GENERAL J. J. H. Gordon, C. B., Bengal Staff Corps.
2. *The Native Army of Madras: its constitution, organization, equipment, and interior economy.* By MAJOR-GENERAL J. MICHAEL, C. S. I., Madras Staff Corps.
3. *The history of the Bombay Native Army from* 1837 *to* 1887: *its constitution, equipment, and interior economy.* By MAJOR-GENERAL W. E. MACLEOD (Bombay retired list).
4. *History of the Madras Army, from* 1746 *to* 1826: *with an account of the European Artillery, Engineers, and Infantry, up to their amalgamation with the Royal Army in* 1861, *and of the Native Cavalry and Infantry up to* 1887. Compiled by LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. WILSON, (retired.) 1888.

THE papers on the armies of the three Indian Presidencies, which have appeared in a late issue of the Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, which has its head-quarters in Whitehall Yard, are of especial interest to the Indian public at the present time, when a carefully considered scheme is being elaborated for a new distribution of the whole of our Native Indian military forces, by which the three distinct Presidency armies will disappear from the scene, and the troops composing them will be re-distributed in four army corps forming one Indian army under one Commander-in-Chief. The present organization in three separate armies has been in

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existence for more than a century, and was co-eval with the rise of our military power in India which preceded the establishment of our Civil Administration. It was the only arrangement feasible at a time when the boundaries of the three Presidencies were separated from each other by vast tracts of territory ruled over by independent Native Princes, and when the easiest and shortest means of communication between them was by a tedious sea voyage. The three armies, raised on no fixed or previously determined plan, grew by degrees with the political exigencies of the times, and were augmented simultaneously with the widening scope of our political action in India. They were as different from each other in their composition and in the regulations by which they were governed as the armies of any two different nations in Europe. Even the English officers of the respective Presidency armies could be distinguished from each other by particular social habits and customs. No exchanges or transfers were permitted between the officers of the different armies. When they met on service in combined campaigns, they met as if they were the troops of two allied powers, and were kept apart from each other in separate divisions and brigades.

The great continental campaigns of the Marquis of Hastings which resulted in the establishment of the British Government as the Paramount Power in India, brought the three armies for the first time into a permanent closer contact with each other. But this contact without amalgamation rather intensified than allayed the rivalries and jealousies which already existed between them, of which the traces survive to this day. The first step towards a *rapprochement* was made after the great catastrophe of 1857, when the Bengal Army, the most important and most numerous of the three, effaced itself by its mutiny against its masters.

The East India Company's military forces were then transferred to the immediate control of the Crown, and the English officers of the armies of the three Presidencies for the first time recognised a common bond of union and interest as officers of the Indian Army. Since that time the connexion has gradually become closer and closer. The substitution of the Staff Corps for the regimental cadres has equalised the promotion in the three armies. The three separate Presidential Ordnance and Financial Departments have been amalgamated. The control and management of the two smaller armies has been by degrees, and for some time, passing more and more from the Governments of their own Presidencies into the hands of the Government of India. The Military Secretaries to the Governments of Madras and Bombay hold almost sinecure appointments, and have little to do beyond the regulation of a

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certain amount of patronage which is the only part of military administration that still excites any interest in the discussions of the Local Councils.

The old argument for the maintenance of separate military establishments no longer exists. Madras and Bombay are in easy communication with Simla and Calcutta by rail and wire. Within a week, troops from Trichinopoly can be brought to the mouths of the Khyber and the Bolan. Easy and constant means of communication between all parts of the country are even breaking down the old Indian differences of race and language. It is therefore considered that the time is ripe for a further advance in the direction of unification, and that the separate administration of the three armies might be merged into one, and the minor Presidency Governments of Madras and Bombay relieved of the trivial military functions which they still perform.

The extension of our territorial limits in India has been so uniformly connected with war and conquest, that the history of the Indian Army is almost a synonomous term for the history of British India; but several works have from time to time appeared especially devoted to chronicling its fortunes; its augmentations, reductions, and changes of organization, apart from the series of campaigns, battles, and conquests which mark the path of the political history of our gradual advance to sovereign rule over Hindustan. Most of these are the historical records of particular corps, compiled and edited by members of them, such as Lieutenant-Colonel Stubb's History of the Bengal Artillery, Colonel Vibart's History of the Madras Engineers, Captain William's History of the Bengal Native Infantry, and other works of a similar nature. The European regiments of the East India Company's Service were particularly fortunate in thus securing memorials of their past distinguished services in the East before they became merged in the Royal Artillery and Line Regiments of Infantry of the British Army. The most general work of this nature which has hitherto been known to us is Broome's History of the Bengal Army, which again is more a history of the actions which the troops of that army had been engaged in, than of the army itself. It reminds us of the old orthodox way of writing history, which consisted in a catalogue of the wars waged and the battles fought by a nation, without any account of the inner life and political development of the nation itself. The most exhaustive and best arranged historical work dealing with the Native Army of India which has yet appeared, is without doubt the History of the Madras Army compiled by Colonel W. Wilson of the Madras Retired List, at the instance of the Madras Government, and of which the fourth volume

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has just been published. This valuable work was inaugurated at the instance of the late Lord Hobart, during his brief tenure of the Government of Madras. His Lordship, who had strong literary tastes, authorised the commencement of the work and took a great interest in it, though he unfortunately did not live to see the completion of even the first volume. All the existing records in the possession of the Government at Fort St. George have been utilised by the compiler, though it appears that a great many documents which might have thrown much light on the early history of the army had been allowed unfortunately to perish. The "History of the Madras Army" is a minute record of the achievements, organization, and composition of the old "Coast Army," from the raising of the first companies for the garrison service of Fort St. George in the early days of the East India Company, to the last reductions in its strength made by Lord Ripon: reductions, which caused a great deal of hardship to individuals and a great deal of dissatisfaction among the native soldiery, and left the strength of the army on the whole much as it was before: reductions, which appeared to have been carefully modelled on the Irishman's plan for lengthening his blanket, by cutting a piece off from the top and sewing it on to the bottom.

The three papers read at the meeting of the English United Service Institution by the three General Officers of the three Presidency Armies are also valuable contributions to the literature on the subject of the Indian Army. General Gordon, as might be expected of a Bengal officer, entirely ignores history in his lecture. The honour and renown of the old Bengal Army is buried in the grave which it dug with its own hands for its not inglorious past, and the new army has no sympathy for, or interest in the memorials and traditions of its predecessor.

General Michael gives the details of all the changes made in the strength and organization of the Madras Army from its first formation to the present day, with a minute account of the regulations affecting the sepoy at the present time, but he has not attempted any recapitulation of its services in the field. General Macleod on his part gives us a short history of the campaigns in which the Bombay Army has taken part since he himself first joined its ranks in 1838 down to the present time: and a sketch of its organization and interior economy as it existed before the Mutiny, which he compares with the system obtaining at present, to the evident disadvantage of the latter. General Gordon touches but lightly on this vexed subject, and General Michael cautiously eschews criticism altogether. In the discussions which followed

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on the delivery of these lectures, however, the question of the alleged insufficiency of European officers with the Native regiments of the Indian Army was freely raised and commented on by nearly all those who took part in the discussion.

The history of the Native Indian Army may be broadly divided into three periods, from the first raising of companies of sepoys in the middle of the last century to fight the French in the Carnatic, to the present time when we are taking precautions with a view to a possible collision with the Russians on the borders of Afghanistan. The first period is that of the growth of the army from its earliest existence in a few independent companies, to its organization in regular regiments and battations with a full establishment of English officers, which took place about the commencement of the present century. The second period would embrace its existence under the same organization, till it attained its greatest strength immediately before the great Mutiny of the Bengal Army in 1857: the third period would comprise the last thirty years under a new organization and a general policy of reduction, under which the army stands at not more than half the numerical strength which it possessed before the Mutiny.

The Indian Army is the first example of the application of the principles of European discipline and tactics to the training of oriental races. Standing armies were not raised in Turkey, Persia, or Egypt until seventy years later, and then only with great difficulty and after repeated failures.

The credit of organizing the natives of India as regular troops undoubtedly belongs to the French. The physician Bernier had observed the inefficiency of the Mogul Armies of Aurangzib in every point (except that of numbers), and had predicted that a few thousand disciplined soldiers would find no difficulty in putting such a rabble to rout. The French first drilled and disciplined the natives of India as sepoys at Pondicherry. A brigade of French sepoys commanded by M. Bussy, and afterwards by M. Raymond, was for long in the service of the Nizams of Hyderabad, and the ruins of their cantonments can still be traced in the vicinity of the chief city of the Deccan. Ibrahim Khan Gardi, so nick-named, because he had been the Commander of Bussy's body-guard, raised a brigade of sepoys on his own account which he disciplined and drilled on the French model. He hired out his brigade to Sewdasheo Rao, commonly called the Bhao, when that ill-starred Commander was setting out with the Mahratta host to try to drive the Afghan invaders from Hindustan. The Bhao was however much annoyed when he found that the new regular troops expected to receive regular pay, and were not to be

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satisfied with fair promises and the prospect of plunder. But Ibrahim Khan insisted on the punctual settlement of his accounts as the most essential part of his system. At the fatal battle of Panipat his brigade had almost retrieved the fortune of the day, routing the Afghan troops opposed to it by its fire and its charge with the bayonet. But the total defeat of the Mahratta Army left the sepoys to stand alone against the whole host of the Abdali King, and they were overwhelmed and cut to pieces, and their brave Commander killed.

The example of the French in training Native levies upon a European model was immediately followed by the English, and with equal success. Our Sepoy Army became one of the most remarkable feats in the history of military organization in modern times, while the French Native levies are now represented only by one weak battalion of sepoys, divided between the garrisons of Chandernagore and Pondicherry. The military and political schemes for the exploitation of India and its populations which originated with the fertile genius of Frenchmen like Dupleix and Bussy, were destined to be carried into effect by their English rivals. The Frenchman sowed the seed, and the Englishman reaped the harvest. It is a remarkable fact that everywhere in the whole field of colonial enterprise where the two hostile nations came into inevitable opposition, the same result has followed. In North America the French inaugurated a vigorous military and diplomatic policy to ensure their ultimate ascendancy, while the English busied themselves only with trade and industry: yet when the struggle came, Canada and Louisiana passed into English hands. In India the English adopted the methods which the French had invented, and beat them at their own weapons. The ingenious Frenchman was "hoist with his own petard." And in Egypt, nearer in our own time, this chapter of history has again repeated itself. The new Egypt of Muhammad Ali which succeeded to the Egypt of the Middle Ages and of the Mamelukes was modelled by Frenchmen. The veneer of European civilisation, with which it was varnished, was French: Frenchmen made the Suez Canal: Egypt was looked on by French politicians as an appanage of France: yet, when the moment for striking came, France allowed England to seize the prize. Her efforts had again only served to pave the way for the triumph of "*perfide Albion*."

The organization of the Native troops in the service of the East India Company followed the same course as the organization of the bodies of soldiers who composed the first standing armies in Europe. The sepoys were at first formed in independent companies, each under its own Native Captain

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(Subadar) with its drum and banner. After a few years the companies were collected into battalions, and at a still later date the battalions were linked to make regiments. The sepoys were often enlisted *en masse* through native soldiers of fortune like Ibrahim Khan Gardi, who raised bodies of men for the employer who bid highest for their services. One Subadar Mahammad Yusef had the chief command of all the English sepoys at the siege of Trichinopoly. After long and faithful service, he was in command of the garrison of Madura, when he conceived the idea of setting up in business on his own account, and revolted against the Nawab of the Carnatic and the English Company: but his rebellion was put down, and he was taken and hanged. When sepoy battalions were first embodied, the senior Native officer was given the title of "Comidan' (Commandant), but from the first the battalions were really under the orders of English Captains. When the Bengal Native Infantry was raised, an English Captain and two subalterns were attached to each battalion. These three officers acted in the battalion as Colonel, Major and Adjutant. It was in fact exactly the same organization as that of our Irregular Regiments of a later date. As the Native Army became more and more an important part of our military force, and as the Native Princes like Hyder Ali of Mysore and the Maharajah Scindia brought against us considerable bodies of troops drilled and disciplined like our own on a European model, it was observed that the efficiency of our sepoys was increased in proportion to the number of European officers serving with them. This led to the gradual substitution of the European for the Native element in command: and at last every company was commanded by a European officer. The Subadars and Jemadars ceased to have any authority or responsibility, and sank into the position of non-commissioned officers.

It would certainly appear that at that time it was very rare to find military talents, even of a moderate kind, developed in any native of India. Such men as Hyder Ali, or even as Ibrahim Khan Gardi and Muhammad Yusef, were rare exceptions to the general rule, and the blaze of their partial talents was soon extinguished. The natives of India made excellent soldiers but indifferent officers; and this observation holds equally good of all oriental races. The wretched inefficiency of the officers in the Turkish Army is sufficient to neutralise the splendid fighting qualities of their men. The Princes of India who succeeded in raising their sepoy armies to any degree of efficiency, like the Maharajahs Dowlet Rao Scindia and Runjeet Singh, availed themselves largely of the talent of European adventurers. When these were withdrawn,

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the troops soon degenerated into the rabble from which they had been raised. The Sikh Army, deprived of the guidance of Ventura and Allard, was like a blind Samson, destroying itself in its frantic efforts to injure its enemies.

The increase of the European element in the Sepoy Army undoubtedly heightened its efficiency. But along with the *cadre* of English officers were introduced English regulations and customs to an unwise extent. The more the sepoy was entrusted to the leadership of Englishmen, the more he was withdrawn from their control. The authority of a code of regulations was substituted for the personal control of the officer. A Captain commanding a native battalion in 1760 had more power over his men, and more discretion allowed him in the government of his command, than a Colonel commanding a native regiment in 1800. The gradual introduction of the rigid European code of military regulations and military law had also a bad effect on the native soldiery, substituting, as it did, fixed principles of conduct, incomprehensible to the oriental mind, for the simple will of their immediate superiors. But these evils were not at first noticed, and but few comprehended their dangerous tendency until the catastrophe of 1857 suddenly and violently opened men's eyes.

It would have indeed been wonderful had our Indian Army been anything but efficient during the first fifty years of its existence; for the whole of that existence was one long campaign. A regiment might be thought lucky if it was stationed in one garrison twelve consecutive months. War was waged by land and sea against French and Dutch, as well as on the continent of India against Musalman and Mahratta. Bombay sepoys appeared upon the Nile; Madras sepoys took part in expeditions to Java and the Mauritius. The Company's soldiers, both Europeans and Natives, were veterans whose lives had been passed in ceaseless wars. India had not yet recovered from the anarchy caused by the downfall of the Mogul Empire, and the revenue of a district could hardly ever be collected without a fight. In all these wars the Madras, or Coast Army, bore its full share. It bore the brunt of the fighting with the French, and of the long campaigns against our most formidable native enemies, Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo Sultan. It also earned an unenviable notoriety by the desperate mutiny at Vellore in 1806, the first mutiny of our sepoy troops which was directed against English supremacy. There had been many mutinies of our native troops before, but they were all mere military mutinies, caused by the hardships of the service they were engaged on, or by delay in the issue of their pay: but the Mutiny of Vellore was a forerunner of the great military revolt of 1857. Like it, it was

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the result of a conspiracy, and its immediate and trivial cause was some alteration in the dress of the sepoys which offended their caste prejudices: not unlike the pretext of the greased cartridge, which was the spark that fired the train fifty years later.

Soldiering on the winning side was a lucrative business in those times: what with prize-money, and the large donations made to the troops from the treasuries of our native allies. And the Company's officers were keenly alive to their own interests: witness the formidable mutiny of the Officers of the Bengal Army when Clive retrenched their allowances, and which needed all his vigour and promptness to quell it. More curious still is the story of the mutiny of the Madras Officers against Sir George Barlow's Government in 1809, begun on a similar question of retrenchment, and carried on upon a mere point of honour, and which nearly culminated in a civil war between the King's and Company's troops. Shots were actually exchanged between them at Seringapatam, where the garrison was in open mutiny against the Government, and was beleaguered by the King's troops from Bangalore. Two sepoy battalions were led from Chitaldroog to its relief, and when approaching the fortress, were charged and dispersed by a regiment of British dragoons: and the Company's artillery-men opened fire from the guns of Seringapatam upon the dragoons to cover the escape of the sepoys. The Viceroy, Lord Minto, hastened from Calcutta to Madras to restore order, and the recalcitrant officers submitted to him unconditionally. This curious story is given in detail in the third volume of Colonel Wilson's book, and is worth studying as an occurrence unique in the annals of the Indian Army: the only occasion on which the maintenance of a large army, distinct from the forces of the Crown, by a trading Company, threatened to produce the evil consequences which might have been predicted or expected from such an institution.

In 1796 the sepoy battalions were formed into regiments of two battalions, and for the first time a full establishment of English officers was given to them. In 1826, however, the regiments were again divided, and each single battalion was made into a regiment. This retrograde step was adopted to assimilate the organization to that of the British Army: for after the great wars of the early part of the century had come to a close with Waterloo, the second and third battalions of all the regiments of the line had been broken up. It is probable, however, that a desire to give increased promotion to the officers of the Company's Army may have had something to do with the change. The Company's service was purely a seniority one, and when the number of English officers was

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so much increased, and the establishment of our undisputed supremacy in India had resulted in a cessation of the general wars in which we had at first been continuously engaged, the stagnation of promotion became a serious evil.

It was partially obviated by the permission granted to officers to combine to purchase out their seniors by private arrangement, a system which was in itself open to many objections, but which on the whole worked fairly well. It mitigated, though it did not entirely obviate the slowness of the promotion, and as a rule the officers who obtained the commands of regiments were too old for their position. One circumstance, greatly to the advantage of the officers though to the disadvantage of the regiments, was the drafting of regimental officers not only into appointments on the general staff of the army, but into all the Army Departments, such as the Ordnance, Pay, and Commissariat, and moreover into civil and political appointments of all kinds: the irregular regiments were also officered entirely from the cadres of the regular regiments. Thus it usually happened that only from one-third to one-fourth of the number of officers borne on the strength of a corps were actually doing duty with it. But when a regiment went on service all its officers had to rejoin it at once. This was the great advantage of the system, that it thus supplied a reserve of officers on an emergency. Its chief defect was that every officer who attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel was allowed to rejoin and to command his regiment, even though he might have been his whole time in civil employ, and be thus necessarily almost ignorant of his military duties. This was a fatal blot in the system, and seriously impaired the efficiency of the army. Another evil was that the officers who perforce remained with the regiment were naturally discontented with their lot, and envied their comrades who succeeded, by their interest or their ability, in escaping from the dull routine of military duty. The prestige of the army suffered by the undue importance and the extra emoluments attached to staff and civil employ. These evils still exist in the Indian Army, though not to the same extent as formerly; but many of the best officers are withdrawn from their regiments to be used in non-military employment, and a reduced establishment of officers has to bear the strain of the reduction.

About the time of its re-organization in single battalion regiments, and soon after the close of Lord Hastings' great Mahratta Wars, the Native Army had attained almost to its greatest numerical strength, and had probably attained to its highest point of efficiency. From this time it began to nourish the seeds of decay which so speedily and inevitably take root in all institutions in this country, and which were

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rapidly and fatally developed in it. The system of promotion by seniority, which was the rule among the English officers, was observed also among the Native ranks, and in consequence the Native subaltern and non-commissioned officers were all too old for their work—a fatal defect in any army.

The English Government and the higher military authorities adopted a foolish policy towards the army which may be described as the humanitarian policy;—a policy dictated by a laudable dislike to arbitrary power and possible injustice, but which was quite out of place in dealing with a force of armed mercenaries. There is a saying that "Resolutions are not made with rose water;" nor is discipline to be maintained among soldiers by the methods which might be found efficacious in a young ladies' boarding school. War is a necessary evil, armies are its result: and their maintenance in a state of efficiency for their work can only be accomplished by a discipline of unflinching stringency enforced through all grades, from the General down to the Private.

The general staff of the Indian armies appeared at this period to consider that its proper function was to protect the sepoy against possible injustice on the part of his immediate English superiors. The powers of Commanding Officers were curtailed, and an attempt was made to mange the affairs of all the regiments at Army Head Quarters. The attempt, of course, was futile, but entailed considerable mischief. The spirit which prompted this unwise interference is still in force. In the horror of revulsion which followed upon the Mutiny, the opposite extreme was run into, and the Commandants of the newly raised native regiments were allowed the power of summarily reducing non-commissioned officers to the ranks, and of dismissing privates from the service. The old leaven is beginning to work again, and Commanding Officers have now been deprived of their salutary powers.

Lord William Bentinck abolished corporal punishment in the Bengal Native Army, though European soldiers were still subject to the lash. The sepoys could be easily managed without it; and indeed it was the docility and apparent fidelity of the sepoy, which led to these dangerous relaxations of the bonds, and consequently of the habits of discipline. The Bengal sepoy was such a good soldier, that it was considered unfair to treat him as if he could possibly be anything else. It is difficult to discover the causes which so deteriorated the discipline of the Bengal Army, while they had little or no effect on the Madras and Bombay armies. It might have been supposed that the former being under the immediate eye of the Supreme Government would have been at least maintained in as efficient a state as the armies of the minor Presidencies. As a

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matter of fact, its supply and equipment were always superior to that of the Madras and Bombay armies. The officers of these latter continually complained that the Bengal Army was unduly favoured by the Government of India. Thus, in Colonel Wilson's fourth volume, he relates how, after the first Burmese War, the extra garrison duty entailed by our annexations devolved mainly upon the Madras Army, while the Bengal Army received a large augmentation for no apparent reason. The Commander-in-Chief at Madras penned a minute on the subject from which we extract the following passage. Speaking of the Madras Native Army, he says :—

> These services, this zeal and fidelity, won them all the Eastern settlements on the Tenasserim coast and Penang to garrison, with an addition of two regiments of Native Infantry ; while the Bengal Army, whose services and claims it is not my duty or desire to discuss, obtained an increase of two regiments of cavalry and twelve of infantry, exclusive of irregulars and corps not regimental. This is an uncoloured picture of the relative situation of the two armies of Bengal and Madras. It must be regretted by those who contemplate the just claims of the Indian Army generally and impartially, that it did not suit the views of the supreme authorities to equalise the augmentation in a manner more favourable to the pretensions and expectations of this army by giving it its proportions of cavalry, artillery, and infantry.

These complaints are re-echoed to-day, and with some show of justice. When money is wanted for the Bengal Army, the cry in the Military Secretariats at Simla is, "cannot some reduction be made in the Madras Army?" Lord Mayo contended that military reductions were imperative on the score of economy, and therefore recommended a reduction of the Madras Army. The Secretary of State impartially refused to entertain any proposal of military reductions which did not provide for the proportional reduction of all the three armies. The Government of India then withdrew its proposition altogether. Again, on the occasion of Lord Ripon's late reductions, Bengal was made to appear to share in the reductions, though the diminutions made in the armies of Madras and Bombay were disproportionately large. But the matter had scarcely been disposed of before the Bengal regiments which had been reduced were raised again, so that the Bengal Army has actually suffered no loss of promotion or patronage by the reductions There seems some reason in attributing this partiality to the *entourage* of Bengal officers with which the Supreme Goverment is surrounded, and who are its military advisers ; for men will always naturally see questions of policy in the light most favourable to their own claims and interests.

The superiority of the discipline maintained in the Madras and Bombay Native armies was not the only cause why their

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sepoys remained true to their salt while the Bengal Army revolted. In the North of India there were political causes at work which were absent in the Deccan and the Carnatic. And there was the sufficient fact of the different composition of the three armies. In both, that of Madras and that of Bombay, there was a great intermixture of diverse races. In the former, Tamils, Telingas, Musalmans of the Carnatic and Mysore; in the latter Musalmans, Rajpoots, Mahrattas, and even Jews. Most of the regiments contained a large proportion of low caste men, especially in the Madras Army. The diversity of race prevented the military from conglomerating into a separate caste, as is the tendency of the natives of India when engaged in any particular calling or occupation. Still, even in Madras and Bombay, there was a bias towards hereditary service, and the formation of a class apart from the general community. In the Bengal Army the high caste Hindus (Brahmins and Kshatriyas) mustered so strongly, that they were able to make a close borough of a regiment and keep out all interlopers. They and the Musalmans maintained a monopoly of the military service. The old Bengal Army was thus a "class" army; and when its evil destiny led it to revolt against its too partial masters, all its regiments stood and fell together.

The causes which combined to bring about the great military revolt of the Bengal Army in 1857 were many and various: but the bad administration of the army itself was certainly one of the principal of them. The abuses which prepared the way for the mutiny had been foreseen by some,—by none more keenly than Sir Charles Napier, who succeeded Lord Gough as Commander-in-Chief in India after the second Punjab War. Sir Charles set vigorously to work, and with more zeal than discretion, to combat the evil spirit which was already manifesting itself in the Bengal Army; the sloth and luxury of the English officers: the prætorian insolence of the men. But he was opposed and thwarted where he should have been supported, in high quarters to such an extent, that he resigned his office in dudgeon. Had he been allowed to carry out his proposed reforms, the Mutiny might have been at least postponed, if not altogether averted. But fate would take its course.

One of the most curious symptoms of the degenerate state of the Bengal Army was the un-English impatience of criticism or reproof. If any one ventured to hint that the army was not quite what it should be, that the sepoy might be made a better soldier than he was, the rash critic was hooted from one end of India to the other. Every one, from Members of Council down to regimental subalterns, joined in loudly proclaiming the inestimable virtues of the Bengal sepoy. The officers were ready to stake their reputation on the valour and fidelity of their men.

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In obscure corners it was darkly hinted that the conduct of some of the regiments in the recent Afghan and Sikh wars had not answered to their previous reputation; there were some ugly stories of guns abandoned and colours lost; but these whispered scandals were drowned in the loud blasts of praise blown by the official trumpets.

Prophets of the catastrophe had not been wanting: but they had spoken to deaf ears. The Reverend G. R. Gleig, the Chaplain General and historian of the British Army, had, as long before as 1845, written as follows in his "History of the British Empire in India," where he is drawing a comparison between it and the Roman Empire:—

> Again though both powers may be said to have used their vassals as self acting instruments of continued degradation, by the English alone has the hazardous experiment been tried, how far the system of arming men that are governed only by the sword, may be adopted with safety in their own country. Be it remembered that the Romans, after embodying their legions of allies, took care to remove them to a distance from their native land; and thus held in subjection Britain, for example, by means of Spanish cohorts, Spain through the terror of British soldiery. But the English put weapons into the hands of Hindus and Musulmans, that they may keep the yoke of their masters on the necks of their brethren: and up to the present moment, at least, no mischief has resulted from the experiment either to the rulers or the governed. How far the practice will continue to produce like results, time, and time only can determine.

Time did answer the question very emphatically. In 1857 the Indian Army had attained its greatest numerical strength. The European portion of the Company's army consisted of twenty troops of horse artillery, twelve battalions of foot artillery and nine battalions of infantry: the Native Army comprised seven troops of horse artillery, six battalions of foot artillery, three corps of sappers, twenty-one regiments of regular cavalry and thirty-two of irregular horse; one hundred and fifty-six battalions of regular infantry, and sixty battalions of irregulars. Besides these troops of the Company's, there were the Hyderabad Contingent, the Gwalior Contingent, the Joudhpore and Kotah Contingents, mustering about a dozen regiments of cavalry and twenty battalions of infantry. The aggregate of this huge force did not fall far short of two hundred and fifty thousand men. This formidable host had grown up by degrees from the half dozen companies of sepoys, who had been drilled at Fort St. David, to fit them to encounter the French sepoys in 1746.

For one hundred years the efforts of the Company's military administration had been directed to assimilate, as far as possible, the Indian sepoys to British troops even in their outward appearance. And in the sedulous pursuit of this object, they

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had so swaddled the army in the bands of red tape and routine, that they had ended by seriously impairing its efficiency. The irregular regiments were the best part of the army, simply because they were irregular, and they attracted a better class of men. The fidelity of the sepoy to his salt had passed into a proverb, when the Mutiny burst upon British India like a bolt from the blue. The war which followed proved conclusively the helplessness of native troops without the guidance of European officers. It was boasted that Madras sepoys had overthrown Frenchmen in a bayonet charge, and under Lord Lake, Bengal sepoys had rushed to assault the breach at Bhurtpore from which English soldiers recoiled; but now their behaviour shewed that a hundred years of European training had almost been thrown away upon them. It is true that their native officers, even had they been qualified in other respects, were inefficient from old age: but it is still curious that these veteran troops should have been defeated by the rawest levies, and even by villagers headed by an Englishman. Tantia Topi, who had not been a regular soldier, was the only leader on the part of the rebels who displayed any of the qualities of a military commander.

In the Mutiny the whole of the Bengal regular army disappeared, except eleven regiments of infantry, which, for the most part, were preserved from sharing the fate of their comrades by the chance of their being quartered for the time in Burmah or China. Most of the irregular regiments were also wiped out, and those which remained were incorporated, along with the fresh levies raised during the Mutinies (mostly in the Punjab Province), in the new Bengal Army. From this time the Punjab took the place of Oude and the North-West Provinces as our principal recruiting ground and the chief nursery of our military strength in India.

The Mutiny had a considerable effect also on the destinies of the two minor armies, both of which had assisted in suppressing it. In the Bombay Army some of the Hindustanis manifested sympathy with their caste men of the Bengal Army, and it became necessary to disband three regiments, two of which had actually mutinied. In Madras one cavalry regiment demanded an increase of allowances when called upon to serve against the mutineers, and was promptly disbanded.

It was determined, however, after the dearly bought experience of the Mutiny, to greatly reduce the strength of the whole Native Army. The Bengal Army had reduced itself, and the tranquillity of the countries within the limits of the Madras Presidency, and the complete pacification of Pegu, had left the Madras Native Army more than sufficient for the requirements of its own Government. Madras regiments were

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garrisoning many stations within the territorial limits of Benga and Bombay. The old Coast Army was reduced at once by four regiments of cavalry and twelve regiments of infantry. This sweeping reduction had a most unfortunate effect on the army: all the English officers, and the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the disbanded corps were drafted into the regiments that remained. This put a stop to promotion for many years, and the age of the officers and sub-officers became a serious obstacle to their efficient performance of their duties.

At the same time the Native Army was re-organised, and the regimental cadres of English officers abolished. Their place was taken by a staff corps for each Presidency, from which the Native regiments were officered, much as the horse, field, and garrison batteries of the Royal Artillery are officered from the general list of the officers of the corps. This system sprang out of the haphazard way in which the newly-raised levies had been organized to take the place of the old Bengal Army. This new organization was now introduced into the Madras and Bombay armies, and as the number of English officers of a regiment was reduced by two-thirds, a great number of officers became supernumerary, and were relegated to "general duty." The discontent in the Madras army was increased by the inefficient manner in which the new organization was introduced by the Commander-in-Chief. The Bombay army was on the contrary fortunate in being at this time under the command of Sir Robert Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala, a keen and experienced soldier and a just and able man. It was also fortunate in escaping any serious reductions, only losing two regiments of infantry. The career of the Bombay army has, indeed, been a singularly successful and unbroken one. Much later than the other two armies in arriving at maturity, it has undergone none of the violent fluctuations of fortune to which they have been exposed: and it has always preserved unimpaired its traditions, its discipline, and its general efficiency

We are constrained to think that the new or present organization of the Indian Army infantry, with eight English and sixteen Native officers to the battalion, is in principle faulty. The field and staff officers are too many, and the company officers are too few. The English officers are really all in the former category; but one field and two staff officers are sufficient for the work of any battalion. No link is required between the battalion commander and his company commanders; nor does such a link exist in the army of any civilized power except in the Indian Native

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Army. In the cavalry the new system works better, for the English officer has duties in the field as squadron leader, while the Native officers are the troop leaders: and the tactical value of a squadron may be reckoned as equal to that of a battalion. But in fact the British officers are kept with a Native regiment more for the purpose of leading the men in the field, than for managing them in quarters. The discussions which followed upon the lectures delivered at the United Service Institution shewed a general consensus of opinion to the effect, that the Indian Native officer is not yet quite fit for the position which was assigned him in the reorganization of the army thirty years ago.

The supply of a good class of Native officers to our army is a serious problem. In a big war a great deal would depend upon our company officers. The best native officers we now have are the young men of birth who enter some of the Bengal regiments as probationers. Some of them are equal to English officers. The Nawab Muhammad Ali Beg Afsar Jang, aide-de-camp to His Highness the Nizam, and who holds the rank of Major in our own army, is a soldier of whom any army in the world might be proud: as able in matters of organisation and administration as he is daring in the field. He was once a Jemadar in our Hydrabad Contingent cavalry, and comes from a noble Persian family who emigrated to India less than a hundred years ago. Men of his stamp are found, more often among Persians, Arabs, and Afghans than among those who have been long settled in India.

The regulations as to limits of age, service, &c., designed to procure young native officers, are very vexatious to the army and do little real good: hard and fast rules of this kind cause a great deal of hardship in individual cases and often miss their mark, for a man of forty may be older as far as physical fitness is concerned than another man of fifty: and besides, among natives, it leads to the falsification of registers and dates of births.

The proposal to found a school for the training of Native officers is not likely to prove of much benefit to us. It is not theoretical knowledge that we want in our company officers, and the army itself is the best training school for a subaltern. Probably the fairest way of procuring Native officers by promotion from the ranks would be to leave their selection entirely to the commandants of battalions. How powerless human prevision is against the inevitable current of circumstances is shown by the fate of all the precautions taken to prevent the recurrence of a general mutiny. The Native Army was only to be armed with smooth bore muskets, and was never to be trusted with rifles. Now it has

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got not only rifles, but breech loaders. The battalions were to be reduced to six hundred rank and file to render them less formidable. Now they have been raised again to their old strength, as it stood before the Mutiny. The numerical strength of the Native Army was to be diminished by one-half. Now the Government are striving to arm and train two hundred thousand native soldiers who are in the pay and employment of Native States, to make them fit to come into line with our own Native Army. The wisdom of one generation is the foolishness of the next.

Similarly, it was announced that the institution of the staff corps provided against the mischief of the officers of native regiments being withdrawn for other employment. This mischief is just as rampant now as it was under the old organization, only now a reduced establishment has to bear the same strain. The fact is that when the Government wants a qualified Englishman for any post, the only place it can find what it wants is among the officers of the Native Army; consequently the regiments are always short of their proper complement of officers, and many of the best men are withdrawn from the army for civil duties. Some complaint was also made at the United Service Institution of the inconvenience of the present method of supplying the staff corps (which is only a fine name for the Indian Army) with officers, which fails to fill it sufficiently, while it depletes the British line battalions of their subalterns. The system would certainly be unworkable in the event of a European war; but we may console ourselves with the reflection that we have an inexhaustible supply of excellent company officers in the youth of our upper and middle classes in England, upon which we can at any time draw to fill up the cadres both of the British and Indian armies.

The institution of the staff corps has led to a curious state of things in the Indian Army, whereby the rank of an officer has no connection with the duties he performs, and little with the emoluments he receives. A captain may be carrying on the duties of either a field officer or a subaltern in a Native regiment, and every officer doing duty of any kind receives extra allowances to the pay of his rank. Such allowances were formerly granted only for some special purpose. For instance, the command allowance of a regiment was given to enable a Lieutenant-Colonel to "keep a table for his officers"; in modern phraseology to keep up an establishment suitable to his position as the head of a regiment or battalion. But proportionate allowances are given to all officers of Native regiments now-a-days, and they are looked upon as an integral part of their pay. If the commandant devoted any large share of his command allowance to entertaining his officers, he would be worse

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off than his second in command, who is under no such theoretical obligation.

The title of second in command is surely a misnomer: it is a title taken from the irregular regiments of the old dispensation, whose English officers were a commandant, a second-in command, and an adjutant. The second in command was the Major, the officer on whom the command devolved in the absence of the commandant. But his title was an unfortunate one, inasmuch as there can be, or ought to be, no such thing as a division of command. In the army as at present organized, it is superfluous, as the title of Senior Wing Commander would be sufficient to distinguish its holder.

The old Bengal Army was what would now be called a class army, recruited from one race, and from only two or three castes of that race. The present army is as heterogeneous as the old one was homogeneous; being composed of men from all the diverse warlike races scattered throughout Northern India, from Nepal to Rajputana, from Oude to the borders of Afghanistan. Some of these races are formed in separate regiments by themselves: in other cases they are kept in separate companies in the same battalion. There are five class regiments of cavalry, and twenty-two class regiments of infantry: the remaining corps have class troops or companies. There is not a single regiment in the Bengal Army in which the different castes are indiscriminately mixed as in the Madras and Bombay regiments.

The old Bengal Army was started as a mixed one, but the regiments from the first became virtually class regiments. There are apparently still jealousies and antipathies among the peoples in Northern India which have been smoothed away by fusion in the Deccan. In the Bombay regiments Sikhs, Pathans, Mahrattas, and Rajputs may be seen consorting amicably together. In the lines of a Madras Native corps, a Hindu family may have Musalman neighbours on one side and Christians on the other, and Pariahs living across the road: but all these professors of rival creeds present the pleasing spectacle of a happy family living together in peace and harmony. As we observed before, the tendency of a common calling in India is to create a separate caste, and the Musalman and Hindu sepoys of a Madras regiment are more in sympathy with each other than they would be with townsmen of their own religion and race. Still it is probable that they would not work together as well as would a regiment in which all the men are of the same nationality, as Sikhs or Gurkhas. The disintegrating element in a battalion, where five or six different races are represented in as many troops or companies, must be still greater than in a regiment in which they have

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been fused together throughout all the companies. We should think that such regiments would be very apt to resolve themselves into their constituent elements under the pressure of reverse or disaster.

The feeling of the officers is decidedly in favour of class regiments, and Lord Chelmsford stated, in the course of the discussion which followed on General Gordon's lecture, that in his opinion "the fighting efficiency of the Bengal Army would be increased enormously if regiments were all on the class system." The only European army that can be at all compared to our Indian army in this respect is the Imperial army of Austro-Hungary, which is composed of several different and even hostile nationalities in fairly equal proportions, and which are all kept distinct in class regiments. The Poles from Galicia carry their national weapon in the Hulan regiments, and the Magyars of Hungary wear their national dress in the hussars. The Tyrolese marksmen are the yägers of the army, and the Sclaves and Croats and Germans all form different regiments in different army corps. Such a force of course contains in itself an essential element of weakness; and *ceteris paribus*, can never equal the efficiency of a truly national army.

Much is often said about the desirability of recruiting our native army from "warlike" races, and there are those who would confine enlistment to the men of such races, and would debar all others from our military service. But this would be tantamount to eventually excluding our own subjects altogether from our army: for no race will long remain warlike, or retain its martial habits and traditions unbroken, under our peaceful and law-respecting rule. Most races of men have been warlike at some period of their history, and unwarlike at others. The Rajputs and the Mahrattas were for long the most warlike races of India; but those of them living under the pacific rule of the English Government have turned their thoughts from war and plunder to peaceful gain. An oriental nation of warriors soon loses its martial instincts when their exercise is no longer required or even permitted. The Sikhs are rapidly taking to peaceful pursuits as the Mahrattas have already done; and it is a significant fact that a large proportion of the recruits in both the Bengal and the Bombay armies come from the territories of Native States. In former days the majority of the sepoys of the old Bengal Army were by birth subjects of the Kings of Oude: and their resentment at the annexation of their own country, in which they had been hitherto invested with a certain amount of prestige and privilege as soldiers of the Paramount Power, was one of the causes of the outbreak of the Mutiny.

At the present day the Bombay Army is greatly dependent for its supply of recruits on the Native States of Central

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India: and our gallant Gurkha soldiers are almost to a man subjects of Nepal. In our own provinces the classes which furnish recruits have found more easy and profitable means of earning a livelihood, and the custom of warlike exercises and of carrying arms has fallen into disuse. It would hardly be wise to restrict our field for recruiting to particular districts, whose inhabitants will assuredly, in the course of a few generations, lose the warlike proclivities which distinguished them before they came under our rule; as those populations have already done who have been longest under our sway. It would be hard to find more unwarlike men than the peasantry of many European countries: yet they form the bulk of their national armies, and make good soldiers. Similarly, it is often maintained that we should confine our recruiting operations to the finest and most spirited of our subject races, and should exclude the weaker and more pacific of our fellow-subjects from the army. When we can obtain Sikhs and Gurkhas as recruits, it is said, why enlist Poorbeas and Telingas? But it would be unfortunate for the future of our Indian Army if we were limited to particular races or territories for the supply of the material for our army. All races and all classes should equally bear their fair share of the defence of the Empire which they are all equally interested in maintaining: and to allow the martial spirit of the majority of the population of India to decay utterly for want of use, as there appears to be some danger of its doing, would be a grave error which we might repent of bitterly when too late.

There is no question but that a mountaineer generally makes a better soldier than a dweller in the plains, and that the inhabitant of a cold climate is more robust and hardier than one who lives in the tropics. The Prussians are doubtless better soldiers than the Bavarians, and the Piedmontese than the Neapolitans, but we do not find Bavarians or Neapolitans excluded from the German or Italian armies. The monarchs and generals of those countries know better than to lose the resources afforded by millions of the population, because they have not the thews and sinews of the Swiss, or the inches of the Pomeranian. If a man is not naturally a soldier, he can at all events be made into one: and we could give innumerable instances where inferior troops have beaten armies of enemies, who were, man for man, their superiors in strength and physical courage. Hindoo sepoys when led by British officers have often beaten Arabs, Sikhs and Afghans, and even the redoubtable Gurkhas. It is the spirit which animates an army, and its confidence in its leaders and in itself which wins battles: and it is a trite axiom that in war, the moral force is to the physical as three to one.

The Indian Army is on the eve of great changes in its

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organization. The regiments of cavalry have already, for the most part, had the fourth squadron added which was required to make them efficient for the field, and the single battalion infantry regiments will soon be clubbed into regiments of three battalions: the battalions have already been linked in groups of three, preparatory to such a measure. A four-battalion organization would be better still, as that admits of three battalions (a force equal to our present brigades)* taking the field together, while the fourth battalion acts as a depôt. When one battalion serves as a depôt to only two others, there is some waste of force. But at all events this reform was imperatively demanded, if we hope ever to carry on a campaign against a European power. The amalgamation of the battalions in one regiment must be a real one, if we are to reap the resulting advantage in efficiency and economy; not a sham one like the double battalion system of the British Army, where the two line battalions of the territorial regiments are still, to all intents and purposes, separate corps. But India offers great facilities for fully carrying out the territorial system which is now the basis of army organization in all the States of Europe, and without which an army reserve is a sham and a hollow mockery. A reserve system has lately been elaborated for the Native Army, but we do not expect that it will lead to any appreciable augmentation of our military strength; on the contrary, it will be more likely to do us damage by inspiring a vain confidence in its possible efficacy.

We do not see how a reserve system can be worked with profit and advantage under our method of recruiting our army by voluntary enlistment. Such a system is the natural corollary of universal compulsory service which we are not likely to see introduced for some time into our Indian Army. Under such a system it is absolutely necessary to pass men into a reserve to make room in the ranks for the crowd of recruits who annually pour into the army. Under our system the reserve cannot be raised to a useful strength without depleting the active army. In order, therefore, to keep up the small reserve of the British army, the ranks are filled with immature striplings. The real cause of our frequent disasters in the recent Zulu, Afghan, and Transvaal wars was, that boys in our ranks were opposed to men on the side of the enemy. What did the Great Nepoleon say as to the value of young soldiers? Speaking of the success of the French revolutionary levies against the veteran armies of Austria and Prussia, he said "It was neither the conscripts nor the

[* An infantry brigade is in future to consist of *four* battalions. See Infantry Drill, 1889." But brigades would always consist of European and Native troops combined.—ED.]

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volunteers who saved the Republic, it was the hundred and fifty thousand old soldiers of the Monarchy who, after the outbreak of the revolution and the flight of their officers, were drafted into the Republican armies. Part of the conscripts deserted, part died, those who remained made, *in process of time*, excellent soldiers. You will not soon catch me going to war with an army of recruits!"

Fate however forced him to belie his own words in 1813 when France had been stripped of her manhood by his ceaseless wars, and he had to lead an army of boys to defeat and destruction in the desperate campaign which culminated in the disasters of Leipzig. The French boy-battalions had to be kept in column under the fire of the hostile artillery, because they could not be trusted to stand when deployed in line: and at Kulm and on the Katzbach they proved physically unequal to sustain a hand to hand combat against the mature Prussian soldiers. The fault of our English and Indian reserve system is simply this: if we get a reserve large enough to be of any use, we cannot get recruits to fill up the gaps in the active army, or to get them, must accept weak and undersized men. Besides, it must be taken into consideration that, under the continental system, the reserve soldiers are not paid except when actually called out for training. The enormous reserve forces kept up by the great military powers cost the State next to nothing, while our reservists are paid a handsome retaining fee for their willingness to serve when called upon. The reserve system of the continent enables a State at a very trifling expense in peace time to treble its army on the outbreak of war, while our English and Indian systems incur a continual heavy expenditure for the prospective benefit of making a trifling addition to the strength of the army on the outbreak of war. There is nothing in common between the two systems except the name of reserve. It would be more effectual and economical if the money provided for our Indian Army Reserve was expended on an addition to the number of men actually serving with the colours.

The strong regiments of the Indian Army with their four squadrons and three battalions each, will for the future be collected in four army corps, instead of in three separate Presidential armies. The Madras and Bombay armies will probably remain as in their present commands; and the Bengal Army will be split into two corps, one for the Punjab and one for the North-West Provinces and the Eastern frontier. Each army corps will be under a Lieutenant-General, and the Commander-in-Chief in India and his staff will no longer be the exclusive property of the Bengal Army. The new arrangement certainly seems more practical and more business-

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like than the present lop-sided manner of doing things, under which the success of a Lieutenant of the Bengal staff corps in passing the lower standard in Hindustani is gravely notified to the world in the *Gazette of India*,* while the transfer of the command of a regiment in the Madras or Bombay armies remains unnoticed and unrecorded. And as many similar anomalies arise out of the fact of only one of the three Presidency armies being immediately under the control of the Supreme Government, the proposed army corps organization will remove this obstruction to the consistent control and management of the whole army, though it may well be imagined, that from the fact of the Commander-in-Chief's headquarters being necessarily located with the Supreme Government at Simla and Calcutta, the opinions and wishes of the officers of the army corps stationed in the locality of those places will still have a preponderating influence in army counsels. The Madras and Bombay armies will certainly suffer very little from their removal from under the control of the Governors and Councillors of their own Presidencies, who are so absorbed in matters of local civil administration that they have not time to pay sufficient attention to army mattters.

The Indian Army has a great future before it, and will, no doubt, have many opportunities of adding to its already not inconsiderable harvest of laurels. We wish it all good fortune and success, but we are not insensible to the perils which beset its path ; perils which have once already almost proved fatal to its existence, and the evil influence of which may not be perceived until it has become too late to remedy their effects. These are the substitution of the letter of rules and regulations for the principles on which they are founded—the preference of red tape and routine to common sense : and the relaxation of the bands of discipline owing to a humanitarian sentiment opposed to severity—a sentiment laudable in civil life, but sadly out of place at the head of an army. General Gordon made some pertinent remarks on this matter in his lecture when he was noticing the cause of the superiority of the irregular regiments to the regular regiments of the Indian Army. He said "These regiments were notably efficient. The officers were less fettered by the unbending regulations enjoined on the regular regiments, they had greater power to punish and reward, were in positions to assume larger responsibility and freedom of action, and were supported in the full exercise of their authority. The supremacy of the commandant was the main principle. The system made the

[* Should this not be "General Orders by the Commander-in-Chief in India?"—ED]

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officers. In the regular regiment, on the other hand, the commanding officer's authority was much hampered and interfered with ; there was too much successful appealing on the part of the men against punishment, and ill-judged leniency in dealing with crime too often resulted."

The senseless reductions which are ever and anon carried out under pressure of financial panic to effect some utterly paltry saving should be abandoned. A short time ago a reduction was made in the number of lascars who perform the duties of pioneers* in native regiments. These men, who had been enlisted without any limit of time, were summarily discharged or pensioned at a few day's notice. The saving effected was trivial, for most of the men were transferred to the pension establishment on half their rate of pay. At the same time sepoys have to be withdrawn from the duties of a soldier to do the work of the lascars pensioned. The Government thus loses the services of two men, to one of whom it pays four rupees a month as a pension for doing nothing, though he is hale and able-bodied. Meanwhile, the rumour is circulating in the bazaars that the tribute paid by the sirkar to the Russians to prevent them from attacking India has so exalausted the treasury, that there is no longer the wherewith left to pay the lascars. Indeed, the chief mischief of these senesless petty reductions is the disquieting effect they have on the minds of the native soldiery who have hitherto trusted implicitly in the permanency and stability of employment in our service. Change is the great bugbear of the Native Army. Even changes resulting in benefit to the interests of the men are watched narrowly and with suspicion. Our continual innovations and alterations in organization, in dress, in equipment, distress and disgust the sepoy. He would even welcome a change of masters, if it would guarantee him against undergoing any other change for the future.

Reduction is a form of change which is of course especially obnoxious to him. It affects his material interests, and though he may have himself escaped suffering from the reduction of to-day, his relatives or friends may have been affected by it, and it may be his turn to suffer to-morrow. If reductions were made gradually by absorption on the occurence of vacancies, they would inflict no hardships, and cause little attention : but made as they usually are in a sudden financial panic, and without any regard to the future results, they are always the cause of infinite dissatisfaction, and sometimes of eventual increased expenditure.

[* They are never employed in this way in Bengal. They had charge of ammunition, a duty much better performed by soldiers.—ED.]

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When reductions are advisable and necessary, let them be made by all means: but no effect is produced on the estimates by dismissing a peon here, and a hospital sweeper there; and the material gain is quite counterbalanced by the uncertainty and consequent discontent which is engendered among our native soldiers and camp-followers. If it is absolutely of vital necessity to save a few hundred rupees a month immediately, instead of dismissing and pensioning off a number of poor men whose scanty pay is all their subsistence, the sum required might be cut from the pay of the Commander-in-Chief, the General Officers Commanding Districts, and the superior grades of officers in staff, regimental and departmental employ. We do not mean to say that these officers are overpaid, or that they do not earn their pay worthily; we only argue that reduction should begin from the top, and not from the bottom; and that the example of cheerful resignation to necessity for the good of the country and of the service, should be set by the highest to the lowest. "Chinese" Gordon commenced his reform of the military administration of the Cape colony by reducing his own salary; but though we can all admire his example, there are very few to be found who care to imitate it.

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ART. II.—THE EKADASI FESTIVAL AT SRIRUNGUM.

THE town of Srirungum is situated on an island formed by the Cauvery and the Coleroon. Eight miles to the west of the town, the sacred river branches into two, the southern known by its original name of the Cauvery, and the northern as the Coleroon. As they flow eastward, they recede further and further from one another. In the area between them is situated the town of Srirungum. Srirungum is the realised idea of Vaikuntha* on earth. Few sights, with the exception of mountain scenery, are more pleasing than that of Srirungum when the rivers are full to overflowing.

The town of Srirungum and the temple of Srirungum are co-extensive. I will suppose that you enter the town through the southern gate. This gate is the Rajagopuram, a huge colossal structure of gigantic dimensions. It is flat on the top without the spiry head characteristic of Indian architecture. It is the southern gateway in the first of the eight enclosing walls. If you pass straight north, you will enter three other gateways all in the southern walls. Over these are tall towers. These four walls enclose within them three broad streets which run parallel to one another. Similarly, those who enter the town from east, west and north, will pass through similar gateways, similar towers and streets. Further on are four more walls. In two of them are two gateways mounted also by towers. Corresponding to these two, there are no towers in the east and west, but only in the north. Within the last or eighth wall is the shrine of the god Runganatha. The fourth, fifth and sixth walls enclose within them temples of various minor deities. The innermost shrine, the abode of Runganatha, has a tower, mounted by four gold pinnacles of considerable value.

The legendary account of the baldness of the outermost gateways is, that the temple was built by gods, who agreed to complete it in one night, unobserved by men. With all their diligence, the four outermost towers could not be built before daybreak and were therefore never completed. This legend well illustrates to a stranger the dimensions of the temple, the labour and money it cost. It was, and is even now, believed by the masses with absolute faith, that mere human agency could not have constructed it. The truth is that in ancient

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[* Vaikuntha or Bykoont□Paradise.—ED.]

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times, when their activities were confined to narrow channels, and commerce had not opened up new fields for Indian enterprise, the pious devotion of local kings built and enriched this and many other great temples in Southern India. The unadulterated Hindu mind is essentially pious. This feeling of piety gave rise to graceful and sublime works of sculpture and architecture. All that opulent devotion could devise, all that religious mendicancy could accumulate, all that individual charity could spare was bestowed with a lavish hand upon the temple. This great and important temple of the Vaishnavas in Southern India was originally endowed with many lands. These lands were taken possession of by the Government, which has granted in exchange an annual income of Rs. 35,000, Private charity contributes an equal amount, and these sums are spent for the temple.

In Srirungum, almost every day is a festive day. The most magnificent and widely celebrated is the Ekadasi festival. It originated, like many other Hindu festivals, in a myth. The ten Alwars or devotees of Runganatha had composed hymns in his praise. The Alwars correspond to the saints of the Romish Church. Runganatha wished to hear them recited. He accordingly seated himself "high on a throne of royal state," and the Alwars sang forth his praises. This story is represented every year in the Ekadasi festival. Ten idols represent ten Alwars, and an eleventh the principal deity. The whole festival lasts for twenty days. It begins on the first day of the light half of the month, *i.e.*, the first day after the new moon in December. Ekadasi is the eleventh day of either half of the month, and hence the name of the festival. On the first ten days the god-idol is taken every morning to a gorgeously decorated *mantapam* between the sixth and seventh enclosing walls. It is profusely adorned with gold, pearls and precious stones. As soon as the idol is seated, the ten Alwar-idols, with eight others, representing eight priests who died at different times, are taken from their several abodes to the divine presence. They are arranged in three rows, two on the sides and the third in front of the god-idol. Four Ayyangars then chant the hymns in loud tones with appropriate gestures. They have hereditary rights, called *mirasi* rights of recital. These rights carry with them certain emoluments. All the time the songs are recited, people of the town flock to the place to hear the sacred hymns. Thither go men, women and children, dressed in their best attire, decked with their best ornaments. The Ayyangars with their *namums*, distinguishing marks of their caste on their foreheads and bodies—marks alike for the pen of satire and praise of piety—are the most prominent of the pious throng. I must pause here to denounce

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a distinction observed by Ayyangars, for it is disastrous in its consequences. If two Brahmins, one an Ayyangar and another a non-Ayyangar, go together to worship, certain marks of respect are shown to the one in preference to the other. On what principle of justice or morality can this be defended? No class of people in the world so much merit the censure of perpetuating discord and disunion among their fellowmen as the orthodox Ayyangars in India.

After the recital is over, large quantities of cake are offered to the deity and distributed among people of the Vaishnava sect, but not among females. This is the routine during the first ten days. On the tenth day is the celebrated Mohini Vesham. It is five in the evening. All Trichinopoly is pouring out to Srirungum. Some go in carriages drawn by horses and bullocks, but most people go on foot. On the night of the tenth day the idol is brought out dressed like a female. The story is that in the ultra-mundane world, there were two classes of beings, the Devas and the Asuras, gods and devils. There had been an inveterate enmity between them which was the source of constant quarrels. To make a short end of the quarrels and extirpate the Asuras, who were superior in number and strength, the Devas, with the advice of Vishnu, determined to churn the milky ocean for nectar, the effect of which would be to make the drinker deathless. The Devas being too weak to churn, they secured the aid of the Asuras by promises of giving them shares in the nectar. The Asuras gladly accepted the proposal, for they might get an object which would prolong life indefinitely, and thus enable them to indulge their natural propensities fully. The thirty-three crores of gods and sixty-six crores of Asuras met together, and moving the great mountain of Mandura into the milky ocean, used it as a churning rod. They made Vasuki, the serpent-king, into a churning string. The gods and Vishnu held the string by the tail, the Asuras at the head, and began to churn. Many things came out of the sea. Poison, the moon, Lakshmi, nectar came in succession forth from the foaming sea. During the whole process of churning the Asuras had to endure great hardships, for unable to bear the pain, the serpent-king emitted much poison. When nectar appeared, all were extremely eager to partake of it. Vishnu, however, had resolved otherwise. He would give it only to the Devas. He showed himself at a distance, in the shape of a woman of angelic beauty, like a flame-image, a perfect form, the cynosure of every eye. She was fairer than the fairest in heaven, sweeter than nectar. She was all that the exuberant fancy and warm imagination of the East could conceive. The Asuras, one and all, were beguiled. According to a preconcerted plan, the gods

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remained where they were, and the Asuras, perhaps, taunted them for dullness. The Devas were thus enabled to consume the whole nectar themselves.

In commemoration of this event, the god-idol is dressed and adorned like a female, be pearled, be-diamonded. It is then exhibited in procession under a lofty, spacious stone-shed, between the fourth and the fifth enclosing walls. Songs embodying the story are sung in the morning of that day. The exhibition takes place in the night. Then all is a perfect blaze. Torches are kept burning on all sides by a continuous stream of ghee. The "busy hum of men," busy not in their calling, but in idle talk, drowns the voice of drums. Stone pillars are alive with faces of young women, of boys and of girls. They find there an asylum from the press of the throng, whence they may see the whole show at ease. Young children are also mounted on the shoulders of their elders to see the scene. Their eyes are fixed upon the blazing torches, or the idol with face shining like fluid gold. Happy is the man who, with his developed faculties, is blessed with such power of concentration. The passage of the deity is decorated high overhead with variegated canopies. Beautiful lights are hung from the ceiling. It is perfect day in night. All the world seems to have come here. Here and there, now and anon, you hear the wailings of women. Some rogue has cut off a necklace or a ear ornament. Identification is almost impossible. Some turbaned guardian of the peace may possibly have connived in the act. Young women cover their heads and ears with their clothes as a protection against the clever rogues.

It is twelve o'clock at night when the idol is put to rest. But the crowd does not disperse ; with the exception of a few who have houses in the town, it falls to sleep where it is, along the byepaths or in the *mantapams*. With anxious haste each one rises in the morning, goes to the Coleroon, bathes, and runs back to the temple to enter the gates of heaven. Old women, in whom life is but trembling, resist with their feeble strength the pressure of the crowd. Between the third and fourth walls, on the north side of the temple (heaven is believed to be in the north), is a gateway. This represents heaven's gate. It is closed throughout the year. Here the god-idol is taken in the early morning at half past six. The Alwar idols are also brought to have their promised sight of heaven. People from various parts of the country crowd to the place to see and enter heaven's gate, for they believe that, after death, they will see the real heaven and enter *it* Many thousands of people are gathered there. A sea of heads, all engaged in conversation upon the innumerable topics which human life presents, and

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which each finds it his interest to dwell on. The heavy mass is swaying to and fro, some trying to pass to the front for the mere pleasure of pressing through the crowd, some for the pleasure of seeing young people and old tossed about by the pressure, some for the pleasure of visiting the idol and taking a more distinct view of heaven.

There is perfect stillness now, for it is announced that the idol is coming out of heaven's gate. From there the idol is taken, the Alwars following—the crowd following or ranged along the sides on raised places— to a splendid pandal erected for the occasion.

In that vast throng you see people of all sorts. Let us take a brief survey of them, for "the proper study of mankind is man." You see there many youths of the other sex, women of from sixteen to twenty-five years of age, with long black hair made into beautiful charming knots or wrought into exquisite serpent-like weavings, with full eyes looking astonishment or joy or love or pity, as the case may be, shooting arrows from their bowshaped brows, with ivory teeth and coral lips, with forms breathing grace through every limb. You see their eyes occasionally fixed upon the gloriously decked idol and frequently upon the mass of population gathered below. You see them and wish time would write no wrinkles on beauty's face with his antique hand. It has always struck me as the most miserable lot of man, that he should be witness of fading beauty. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of such festivals, they certainly deserve fostering on this one account, if on no other, that they bring together so many human faces divine. If the end and aim of man's life is happiness, and if happiness is very various as to the sources from which it springs, surely feasting the eyes with the noblest work of God in a pre-eminent degree were in need of no elaborate defence. I am no defender of waste of money. Greater charity cannot be conceived than of giving poor people the means to fill their starving stomachs. I am aware that if all the money spent upon festivals were invested in any great manufacturing undertaking, many mouths would be better fed. We cannot, however, I think, lose the pleasure afforded by festivals. I am not sure that if festivals be abolished, the sum of human happiness will not diminish. But retrenchments can and ought to be made in the scale of expenses. Instead of religious and charitable endowments being allowed directly or indirectly to be utilised for the maintenance of dancing girls, lazy Brahmins or worldly Dharmakartas, let trustees and managers set apart such sums as are absolutely necessary for the proper conduct of festivals, and invest the surplus and capital in commercial and manufacturing undertakings. This will not only be conferring

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an immense boon upon the country and the poor, but also a means of enriching the capitalist temple.

Let me give you specimens of conversation among female friends. Listen,—a blooming girl of sixteen says to her companion—"See, yonder goes a fair young man with his hand clasped in a friend's." You hear a damsel fond of jewels and precious stones ask another, "What did you pay for that *jimiki*."* Another strikes in and asks with a smile upon her dimpled cheeks, "Who purchased it for you? Your husband I suppose." Another passionate girl asks her confidante, "How does your husband treat you? Is he amorous?" A girl who will have her husband all to herself, complains to her friend "my mother-in-law does not treat me well. She is jealous of my husband's fondness of me." An unfortunate girl, whose husband has only a sullen face for her, bemoans her fate to a friend. One mother asks another "Why have you not got bangles?" She answers, "I have daughters. I wish to send them to their husbands, and must send them covering their ears and noses. What care I for ornaments when those children have not?" "True," says the other, 'My daughters are in the same plight. Either parents must be rich or husbands must be rich. How else can girls hope to wear jewels?"

Turn we now to the class of young men: These, as you know, are men superficially affected by the influence of modern science and philosophy. They are either sceptics or unthinkers, not free thinkers, but unthinkers, the great majority. They, of course, do not attend the festivals for the sake of pouring forth

> "Their fervours with a healthy mind,
> Obedient passions and a will resigned."

They go there to feast their senses. To them, the most pleasing part of the scene is the long rows of young women ranged on the sides. As their eyes pass along the rows, they meet with a succession of fascinating sights, beautiful faces—rendered more beautiful by wreathed smiles, or dark laughing eyes. As you walk by the rows, your sense of smell is gratified by the air charged with scents of flowers worn by the women, your ears by the music of their speech. You feel a pleasure which were better unanalysed, which were better felt than explained, which you must feel for yourself with all the earnestness of your nature.

Let us now glance at the class of old men: They are either genuine or spurious. The genuine old man goes to the place to worship the deity. To him, probably, the idol differs in no respect from the real deity. Philosophy is a dream. He is no

* A ear-ornament.

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speculator. He chants his prayers in his hoarse bass voice in loud tones. He does not feel shy, like your nineteenth century young men, to speak loud. A smile streaks your face. It is, I see, partly scornful. You laugh, I believe, at his repeating those Sanskrit prayers without knowing their meaning. You are a Sanskrit scholar, and you laugh, because he breaks off the sentence in improper places. Now, he prostrates himself before the idol. He has done so many times within the last five minutes. He is under the impulse of a blind faith. Who begins to question the divinity of the idol, or ask the meaning of the prayers he has all along been repeating, is a heretic and a blasphemer. It is a formula with him which he sacredly keeps to go and worship god on this day especially. He goes there because others go, because his parents had gone before him, because he had been taught in his childhood to go. Custom is the grand reason with him for many things. Only form remains. The spirit in all institutions is gone. The genuine old man has faith in forms; the spurious has not even that. Brahmins are paid to chant Vedas behind the procession. Some do repeat. They do their work with what little faith they have. Others there are who indulge, some in obscene conversation, some in various earthly topics concerning themselves. Sensual bliss is all that the spurious old man knows. His mind never soars like that of the genuine old man to the heavens above. His thoughts in presence of the idol are not fixed upon the god of nature.

There are also rogues, pickpockets, and cut-purses in that miscellaneous assembly. Festivals in great temples are their harvests. They have too much faith in the theory of profit without labour. Often they are caught and soundly belaboured. They are adorers of the god of chance. To chance they trust for escape without detection. You can hardly tell them from honest, respectable citizens. They appear in neat and even valuable dress. They carry with them very sharp but exceedingly small knives with which they cut off ornaments. Their subtlety and skill are striking. Would that these were shown in honorable walks of life instead of in knavery and rascality! In many cases it is long before the loss is known.

We are now in the great pandal. It is a grand shed erected annually at a cost of Rs. 5,000, adjoining what is popularly known as the thousand-pillared *mantapam*. This mantapam actually contains only nine hundred and forty stone pillars. To make up the deficiency, the pandal is built on sixty wooden pillars. It covers a large area, oblong in shape. The roof is thatched. It is lined inside with beautiful colored cloths. Various sets of dolls are placed in different corners on raised stages. It is a glorious sight, unmatched by any even in this

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country of splendour. All the opulence of the earth, all that the wit of man could invent to enhance the charm, the symmetry of the limbs of the idol, the radiance of its ornaments, all rivet the eye. A faithful, sincere soul, aided by a warm imagination, forgets self for a moment and enjoys supreme happiness. If but man's imagination can endow the image with life, there is naught in this world to equal it. The charming *kasturi* mark on its forehead, what can equal it? For a while, the idol is kept in the pandal, borne on the shoulders of Ayyangars. It is afterwards seated in the stone mantapam. Here the chief Alwar sings the remaining hymns. So on it continues for ten days. On the last day, the deity receives the Alwars into the fold of heaven. Thereafter there would be no birth and no death, which in the philosophy of the Hindus is absolute bliss.

If, after the bustle of the Ekadasi day is over, one would take the trouble to cast his eyes from the direct scene to other places, and take a walk about the town; if he would go, for instance, to the Coleroon and satisfy the natural desire of an external turn of mind, that of walking down the bed of the river for some distance, he would be well repaid the trouble He would see there brought together the most excellent specimens of native bullocks, tall, plump, stately creatures, with high tops, broad backs, thin sides, strong legs, all that nature could bestow and art develop, chafing under restraints, anxious to vent their spontaneity by running and bounding about without aim. You see there are old and young creatures. If one but thinks, beneath the surface of joy at seeing those beautiful animals, an undercurrent of sorrow passes and mingles; if one considers that they are brought for sale; if one will but impute to them human feelings, joys and sorrows, I imagine it is a most sorrowful scene in one apect. Notwithstanding the pleasure one may have when one sees the silver on one's palm, it is hardly possible to part with your familiar, with whom you could have had no cause for quarrel, without a pang of sorrow. To separate him from a friend, from one with whom he had long been acquainted, in whose company he had no shyness or fear, and put him under power of a stranger seems selfish in the extreme. But such is the fate of man. Each is lying down on the sand and chewing the cud apparently as happy as at home, for it matters little where he is when he is by his master, not dreaming of the separation to happen so shortly,—perhaps at the very moment he is being bargained for. Man, with his vaunted reason, often knows not what is reserved for him in future, what the next moment will bring forth.

On the road sides, within the temple, wherever the crowd is likely to be thick, the miserable mortals of the world crowd in numbers. Seeing them, the very stone walls and pavements

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will melt into tears or soften into pity. Men without eyes, men without hands, dwarfs with humps upon their backs, or legs twisted into knots, blind old men and women crowd together. Their only possible means of livelihood is the charity of strangers. Cast adrift in the sea of existence, without so much as a raft to take hold of, how are they to reach the shore? Children of poverty and hunger, life to them is a long disease. Death were more welcome. They gather there greatly expecting to be fed by charity. At sight of these, a merciful soul wishes for a house of relief, where the helpless shall be fed. It shall lend no stimulus to idleness by sheltering the strong and lazy fellows. Man must help his fellow man who cannot help himself. Rogues, too, there are among the beggars, those who pretend to be lame, or blind, or wanting some other limb. There is no greater pleasure to man than the consciousness of having served to make another happy.

There are various shops and bazaars. There are bookshops, cloth bazaars, vessel bazaars, bazaars where fruits and eatables are sold. You see young children worrying their parents to get for them something to eat. You see young women buying combs and looking glasses. Relatives meeting after a time converse on various topics, or exchange a few words and then part. Friends with sympathetic mind admire and call each other's attention to many things.

There are also many exhibitions. Unnaturally stout men, and men with heads like those of monkeys, all striking aberrations from average human shape, are shown to the public as calculated to bring in money to the exhibitors.

I have stated facts. You must draw inferences—inferences as to the economical, ethical, and aesthetic aspects of festivals. These are to be attended to, to study mankind, their weaknesses, their strengths, their meannesses, their grandeurs and their humours. Times of festivities are times of relxation from the arduous labours of every day life for the greater part of mankind, and are, therefore, best fitted to explore certain regions of human nature.

K. S. GANAPATI AYYAR, B.A., B.L.

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ART. III.—RE-MARRIAGE OF HINDU WIDOWS.

IT is a thrice-told tale: a stock subject of discussion for publicists, philanthropists, reformers and platform speakers. It has been threshed out from all possible points of view for the last five-and-thirty years: from the position of a conservative Hindu Reformer by the venerable Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, who combated to his own satisfaction the popular objections against it with all the texts of the *Shastras* his vast erudition and subtle acumen could marshal forth, and succeeded at last in persuading the then Government to enact a permissive law, declaring the hymeneal re-union of Hindu widows according to Hindu rites as legal and valid. It need scarcely be added that the law, to all intents and purposes, is but a dead letter up to now, there being very few persons willing to avail themselves of the privilege created by the statute. The same cue of the *Shastras* has again been recently taken up by a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, who has been at considerable pains to shew that the custom was not unknown in ancient India, and quotes the Institutes of Manu, chapter and verse, to prove that it was not foreign to orthodox Hinduism. But whether he has succeeded in advancing the cause by his advocacy one jot more than his illustrious predecessor in the fray, is problematical after all. It has also been discussed from the position of a religious and social iconoclast, by the late Keshub Chandra Sen, who would be satisfied with nothing short of the total obliteration of the old landmarks of Hindu social organisation and unrestricted intermarriage of widows. He, too, got a law passed by Government, conferring a legal status on such hybrid unions. But that it has entirely failed to affect the Hindus in general, with the exception of a "microscopic minority" of some enthusiastic outcastes, is patent to all. It has also been considered from the point of view of a social reformer by the now well-known Parsi, Mr. Malabari. This un-Hindu gentleman is also for setting the legislative engine in motion, to cure us Hindus of our social evils by legal compulsion, and make us humane to our widows at high pressure. He has but just opened his campaign, and we shall not detain ourselves to forecast the effect of his broadsides on our devoted society. Besides these, every Anglo-Indian, every cold-weather tourist from England, who has the slightest pretension to a superficial knowledge of the complex social machinery of the Hindus,

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has had his say against the Hindu institution of perpetual widowhood. Nor are the missionaries slow to join in the chorus of denunciation. From the combination of these causes, the topic has been always to the fore in some form or other: so much so that it has almost begun to stink in the public nostrils. Still I venture to hope that I shall be able to lay before the public some fresh food for reflection, though treating of a stale subject.

It has become the fashion to talk of widow re-marriage as the one sovereign panacea for all the ills that the Hindu community is heir to; and because the cautious conservative Hindu does not move so fast in the matter as he is wished by his fussy reformers, he is inveighed against in no measured terms and is argued thence to be unfit for local Self-Government, for all civil and political rights, for all civilized society, and what not. When such is the general temper, it is surely not smooth-sailing to assume the rôle of opposition against the common rage of the hour. But it is my firm conviction that the advocacy has all along been one-sided; and for the better understanding of the matter, the other side of the shield should be examined. And at the risk of all obloquy, my aim is to supply that desideratum. But because I champion the cause of perpetual widowhood, I am not to be confounded with an upholder of Hindu orthodoxy or bigotry, for that I never am.

The census returns announce there are two millions and odd widows of all ages in India; and the philanthropist is at once busy devising ready cures for the disorder, and finishes by proclaiming himself for the European institution of widow re-marriage, to efface this shame of the Hindus, as he terms it. Not that we are so flint-hearted or mentally so obtuse that the life-long penance of our widows does not make any impression on us, or that we cannot see it; what man is there that would not melt into tears at the sight of these noble monuments of patience and sorrow—the Hindu widows? But believing as we do that beyond a certain point the malady is irremediable and so should be endured, we are naturally chary about accepting the make-shifts of the sentimentalists and yield to the inevitable as resignedly as we can. It is too short-sighted a policy to try to make one part whole by permanently injuring another vital part. Is not the cure worse than the disease? And no practical social reformer can allow his feelings to domineer so despotically over his reasoning faculties as to assent to such a course.

For the re-enforcement of a practice fallen into disuse, it is futile, I hold, to appeal to the authority of the *Shastras*. It is so much labor thrown away. The religious codes of a

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nation are but a collection of those commonly received customs, laws and institutions which are in consonance with the current public opinion of the time of their compilation. A code is after all but a faithful history of a particular period of a society, embodying all its thoughts and aspirations, its spiritual longings and moral advances, its likes and dislikes. No religious code could rise superior to the environment of its birth; it must bear the impress of the intellectual and moral atmosphere in which it is ushered in. Hence it is that passages, which are so shocking to our modern ears and so outrageous to our sense of decency, and which we would by no means tolerate in any other publication, without invoking the aid of the police to put it down, are seen to defile and disfigure the pages of the sacred writings. And their presence there would but appear as profane and unintelligible interpolations, unless we study them in the spirit of the age in which they saw the light of the world. But in course of time, as public opinion veers round, a higher plane of elevation is attained by the morals and intellect of a nation, and tastes are refined by civilization, many of the customs and institutions which were found so marvellously to fit in with the primitive, patriarchal or militant phases of society, grow out of fashion under the altered circumstances, and are gradually replaced by new and better substitutes. Take for instance the Institutes of Manu. He distinctly allows polygamy and intermarriage of Brahmans with lower castes. There are eight forms of marriage recognised by him; all kinds of union of the sexes for cohabitation have been privileged to luxuriate in the holy name of marriage. The practice of raising children by a different person from a married woman or widow is also permitted. But the good sense of the modern Hindu community has sternly set its face against such practices. A Brahman will not go out of his caste to contract a marriage alliance, nor will he venture to preach or practice polygamy in public. Nor, again, are all unions of the sexes regarded as marriage; nor will the children begotten by other than the legally married husband be accepted as legitimate. Then, again, there are the various dietetic rules prescribed in the *Sanhita*. Many are the articles of food proscribed by it, which are now in common use; on the other hand, many others are allowed by it, which are out of vogue, for example, the flesh of hare, rabbit, rhinoceros, camel and lizard is declared to be fit for consumption by Brahmans, while all poultry, including even the pigeon, is discarded. But the Hindus of our age have altogether eschewed the former, while of the latter, pigeons (and partly ducks to a certain extent) are not much objected to. Now the question is, desirability or undesirability apart, can any amount of exegesis of

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Manu induce a modern Hindu to revert to the ancient practices cited, or reconcile him to the various kinds of abhorrent meat named above, or lead him to retrace his steps from the modifications already wrought in his habits and manners? The answer to the query cannot be mistaken. Such a state of things can never be even dreamed of, unless there is a complete revulsion of feeling—a mighty intellectual and moral revolution restoring to us the tastes and moral notions of the age of the *Sanhita*. Were a Manu or a Parashar to rise amongst us again, and a new code to be drawn up by him now, it would be sure to differ as heaven and earth from the old Dharma-Shastras. The new practices indicated above, and many more that have sprung up in Hindu society since the days of these antidiluvian sages, would be dwelt on with all emphasis as deserving of approbation and consecration and their opposites denounced as against religion and morality. Widow re-marriage is one of those institutions about which Hindu feeling has undergone a complete change. It might have been prevalent during the age of Manu or Parashar, and we have not the least intention of joining issue with those who make the assertion—but what of that? It is now long that the

"Old times are changed, old manners gone;"

and no array of antiquated authorities can wipe away the sentiments of centuries accumulated against the practice during the period it has been discredited. Popular usages are more binding than the dictates of the sacred writings.* Nothing can be more puerile than the attempt to stem the current of public opinion with the texts of the *Shastras*:—*Shastras*, whose divine origin or authority is openly questioned and repudiated by enlightened and progressive Hindus; and, as for the conservative majority, they are either too innocent of them or too wedded to existing institutions and customs to look beyond for the sake of the scriptures.

It now behoves us to inquire why and how the practice of widow re-marriage has come to be obsolete among Hindus, or more correctly, among the better and higher classes of them, as the practice still flourishes among the Sudras of the lower order as exuberantly as among Europeans or Americans. Even the most adverse and bitter critics of the Hindus are

* There is a Sanskrit couplet which runs thus:—

"Yadyapi siddham loka viruddham
Nácharaniyam nádaraniyam"

Rendered into English it means—"when a thing is against the opinion of the people, even if it be conformable to the *Shastras*, it is not to be practised nor to be esteemed." It is a maxim of practical conduct in life with the majority of our countrymen.

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unanimous in bearing testimony to their social virtues, their attachment to, and unwonted self-sacrifice for the family, and their affection and fondness for their children. Their intellectual acuteness and subtlety are admitted and well-known. So obduracy of heart, or intellectual or moral obfuscation, at whose door the institution of perpetual widowhood of the Hindus is erroneously laid, cannot acount for the initiation of the custom. It is preposterous to suppse that a high-caste Brahman, whose name is synonymous with high culture and refined humanity, cannot, or does not feel for the life-long torments of his widowed sister or daughter, or that he cannot thoroughly realize the severe trials of widowhood, or that he is led by selfish motives—though we do not perceive what selfishness there could be in it—to condemn to a living death his own near and dear relatives, for whose welfare he would not hesitate a moment to make his own life a willing offering. Every Hindu householder knows by bitter experience what a dire catastrophe it is to have a young widow in the heart of the family, and how all its mirth and happiness are blasted for ever by the blight of girl-widowhood. Talk of the callousness of Hindu parents! It is the grossest libel on their character! Who amongst us that is not aware, how many a Hindu parent, out of a gentle regard for his or her widowed daughter, has abjured for good the pleasures of the palate and fine clothing, and adopted the widow's régimen of life?* It is strange that while the Sudras, between whom and the Brahmans the intellectual and moral chasm is so deep and wide, should afford to be so humane and considerate for the welfare of their daughters as to welcome re-marriage, the Brahmans, their superiors, are entirely blind to its advantages. No one voluntarily exposes himself to pain and discomfort, so there must be some nobler motive actuating the Hindu guardian to put up with all the hardships and inconveniences of perpetual widowhood. It is not, however, apparent on the surface: to discover it we must dig down at the root of the institution of marriage.

* The rigid discipline of a widow's life, the restraint on her appetites and the curb on her voluptuous indulgences, which perpetual widowhood imposes in order to ensure its success and reality, are often made the peg on which to hang long tirades against it. But it should be observed that every triumph over self presupposes a course of training, bodily and mental,—an amount of self-control and self abnegation; and if they are to be eluded as an infliction and circumscription of our liberty, all duty, individual or social, becomes unattainable, and society lapses into the savage wildness of the days of yore. Indubitably human liberty does not consist in obeying no law but 'in making, as far as possib'e, our good inclinations prevail over our bad.' So the discipline entailed by the vow of perpetual widowhood cannot be in itself, though there may be differences of opinion as to the degree of it, an argument against the vow.

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According as a people are in the savage, barbarous, semi-barbarous, semi-civilized or civilized state, the forms of marriage—if, indeed, we are allowed the expression for those loose temporary unions for sexuality between men and women of the primitive tribes, scarcely distinguishable from the pairing of the males and females of the lower animals—vary from the promiscuous and communal, consisting of polyandry and polygamy, to the highest development of the monogamous. The nature of the matrimonial relations obtaining in a society is, in fact, the measure of its civilization and enlightenment. The different kinds of union referred to above, are to be met with in different parts of the world to the present day, the lowest in the scale, promiscuosity, being confined to the Andamanese. Our Mahomedan brethren, notwithstanding their strictly pure monotheism, their wonderful progress in science and literature during the middle ages, their extensive conquests, are to our regret addicted to polygamy till now, and that too in its worst form.* The late Nawab Wazid Ali Sha, the ex-king of Oudh, though a State prisoner, had a seraglio of about four hundred and sixty Begums. The *Koran*, in assigning no higher place to women than as mere tools for the sensual gratification and enjoyment of men, has done an incalculable amount of mischief to the cause of progress. The highest manifestation of matrimony, which discovers itself in monogamy, is the concomitant only of the highest stage of civilization as seen in European countries. In the beginning monogamy is purely sexual, and in time grows to be selective. In the same nation both forms of it are seen to exist side by side: for instance, amongst the poor, illiterate and unrefined, matrimony is at best sexual, while with the rich, educated and civilized, it is strictly selective; the same is the distinction that characterises rude rural areas from the enlightened metropolitan districts. We know it to be a fact that the people of East Bengal, in contracting matrimonial relations, are not so punctilious about the symmetry of make or comeliness of features, or the mental or moral worth of the girls, as the inhabitants of Calcutta and its neighbourhood.

From the brief sketch given here, it will be observed that matrimony, stripped of the halo of poetry and romance that has gathered round it to our benefit, is at the root solely based

* [This is over-stated. I have found in several districts that the general rule among Mahomedans is to have one wife. The man who inflicts a *sotin* (co-wife) on his first wife, is not regarded with favour in respectable Mahomedan society: and unless he is well-to-do, and can afford to keep separate establishments, one or the other wife invariably leaves him. Respectable Mahomedans think that a man is only justified in taking a second wife, if his first wife is barren or has no male children. Unchastity, of course, is a ground for immediate divorce—Ed.]

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on sexual instinct ; and it is obvious to all, how exclusive and self-regarding this passion is. The aim at each successive step of human progress has been, as a whole, to leave further and further in the background the original grossness of the male and female union, and bring out more prominently its better and altruistic elements, and then to idealise it by the aid of the best sentiments and metaphors that a national language is capable of, till, freed from all dross, it emerges into a hallowed and hallowing relation, sanctified by the highest sacrament of religion. Whatever helps to maintain matrimony at the altitude of purity and tenderness it has attained, or spur it on to its further evolution, is for the best interests of society, and its reverse, degrading, debasing, and prejudicial to them. This is a truism that requires no words of argument from me to secure public allegiance to it. And herein it is that we are to trace the source of the Hindu system of perpetual widowhood. Hence the patient submission, silent resignation of a Hindu *pater familias,* amidst all lacerations of heart and soreness of affliction and trial, when widowhood occurs in the family, and hence his apparent indifference, as exhibited in his want of exertion for the re-marriage of his widowed charge. Can any body question that it is perpetual widowhood that develops the notion of eternity and indissolubility of marriage and makes it the divine thing that it is ? It is this institution alone that can furnish us with the true ideal of self-denying devotion and sincere self-sacrifice, the real and noble exemplar of chastity. In the widow re-marrying countries there is always the risk of the unseemly exposure of the cloven foot of sexuality, lying hid under the sacrament of marriage, and of bringing into relief the temporal and egoistic nature of the rite. It is from the effect of free marriage of widows and divorced wives, together with the frequent dissolution of the matrimonial bond, that we see the rude barbarous notion of a wife as a material possession exchangeable with other commodities some times break out—though, of course, in the lowest strata of society. From the above considerations it must after all be confessed that it is not with a light heart that Hindus have acquiesced in the perpetual widowhood of their women, but from the highest of social motives, conducive in the largest sense to the spiritual and moral well-being of the community. And the wisdom of what the Hindu mind discovered and practised thousands of years ago, comes to be peculiarly confirmed by the greatest social philosopher of the nineteenth century, M. Comte. He thus delivers himself on the question—" Widowhood can alone give woman's influence its main efficacy. For, during the objective life, the sexual relation impairs to a great degree

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the sympathetic influence of the wife, by mixing with it something coarsely personal. But when the subjective existence has purified the higher intimacy, which distinguishes the wife, she definitely becomes our highest moral providence. . . . Thus, without the subjective union, which is a consequence of widowhood, the moral influence of the woman on the man would be extinguished at the very moment when its main results should become visible, perfected as it is and purified by death." In another place he again observes that unless completed by eternal widowhood "monogamy becomes illusory, since the new marriage always creates a subjective polygamy, unless the first wife (or husband) is forgotten, which can be but a small comfort to the second. The mere thought of such a change is enough greatly to impair the existing union as the event of death is always possible. . . . It is only by the assurance of an unchangeable permanence that the ties of intimacy can acquire the consistence and completeness which are indispensable for their moral effect. . . Between two beings so complex and so different as man and woman, the whole life is not too long to know each other fully and to love each other worthily." Sooth to speak, so long as the verdict of this philosophy remains unimpugned, the Hindu will have grave reasons for not accepting the hasty generalisations of the supporters of widow re-marriage.

The opponents of perpetual widowhood often try to arraign it before the bar of the public by the invariable application of the epithet, "enforced." But we are at a loss to make out the drift of the impeachment implied. If by "enforced" is meant physical coercion, it is as wide of the mark as anything could be. For, were Hindu widows given the option of marrying again, I can boldly assert that not a tithe of them would come forward to profit by the opportunity, so strong are their own feelings in the matter. If, however, the epithet is intended to signify enforcement by means of public opinion, it is but too true, and for the matter of that, not only of this, but of every other institution. No practice or institution can, in fact, retain its hold on a society unless backed by public opinion and appropriate sentiment. It is the most legitimate and innocuous weapon that a community can be entrusted with, and if reformers could have the wisdom and patience to confine themselves to its use only, the world would have been spared many bloody fields and much of its present anarchy, brought on by the insensate zeal of enthusiasts.

Infant-widows are really the most pitiable and most heart-rending instances of Hindu widowhood. But infant widowhood is a remediable evil. It may be easily prevented by raising a little the marriageable age of Hindu girls. But

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though infant widowhood may be thus nipped in the bud, it may be argued, there would crop up again the problem of young widows to press on our attention for solution. The line must, however, be drawn somewhere ; and so they will have no other alternative, I am afraid, than to suffer their hard lot as well as any other irrevocable decree of fate. From no human scheme, how wisely soever devised, can the chances of death be eliminated, and it must ever be vulnerable in that part. Granted that in the case of widows we can make up their loss, *to a certain extent*, by the substitution of fresh husbands, but what are we to do for the death of son, daughter, mother, sister, brother, father, or other such painful and deplorable bereavements by which human existence is embittered ? After all we can do, separation and sorrow are unavoidable, and nothing is given us but to submit to them with resignation.

But will not the cravings of the flesh prove too much for perpetual widowhood, especially for youthful widows ? To some temperaments they may present a stumbling-block, but not so insuperable as not to be overcome by discipline and due exercise of family affections. With reference to this question I shall, however, satisfy myself only with an excerpt from the French philosopher already quoted : " The materialism of our schools of medicine," says he, " cannot prevail as against a large and decisive experience fully explained by the true theory of human nature. This alleged sexual necessity was overcome commonly, during the whole of the middle ages, by all those who submitted duly to the discipline of Catholicism and chivalry. Even in the midst of modern anarchy, many individual instances still prove that it is possible to remain really pure until marriage. A life of labor, and above all the uninterrupted play of the family affections, are generally sufficient protection against such dangers, which only, in very rare cases, become insurmountable, cases erroneously treated as typical by physicians unversed in moral struggles. . . . . Lastly, you are aware that a deep affection was always the preservation against libertinage." Widows should on the whole be taught to look on the triumph of the social over the personal feelings as the grand object of their life, and that would be a charm against all temptations. And for those disconsolate survivors of the couple, who are unfortunate enough to enjoy objectively their conjugal life only for a brief period, we would conclude by quoting M. Comte's dictum that " one single year of a true marriage is enough to procure for the longest life a source of happiness and amelioration which time never can efface or tarnish."

Moreover, considered economically, the institution of re-marriage does not commend itself to us. Statisticians have

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shown that the ratio of males to females is always equal. Now if all, or a fair proportion of the widows are to take husbands again, an equal proportion of girls cannot but remain spinsters ; so that while some will be fortunate enough to tie marriage knots over and over again, others will get no husbands at all. Wherever widow marriage is in vogue. there must be more or less " old maids " to disturb the order and serenity of society. Necessarily the determination of the question whether widow marriage is preferable to perpetual widowhood, hinges mainly on the settlement of the issue, whether it is advisable to have a society with a number of maids, young, adult and old, having no memories to cherish, no experience of the sweets of conjugality to fall back upon, no families of their own to rear, no stake whatever of a restraining nature, and a temper soured by disappointments and full of resentment towards the community at large, whose iniquitous arrangement made matrimony impossible for them. Is it not better to have a society with its fair share of widows, having an object of worship and devotion in the departed husband, reminiscences of connubial felicity, the happiness of house-keeping on their own account to cheer them up in moments of dejection, children, in many cases, to console them and engross their time and attention, (and are not these sufficient hostages for good conduct as a citizen ?) and no reasonable grounds of exasperation against the economy of society, which did all it could to set them up in life with a fair start ?*

Next, let us assume that by some ingenuity we get the better of the natural law of demand and supply, and succeed in procuring husbands for all widows, without, however, thereby compelling any females to remain spinsters. Would this not seriously augment the population, particularly in an overcrowded country like India? Would it not stimulate multiplication at a rate which would, for all time to come, hopelessly disturb the equilibrium between population and food-growing power of the country, and inevitably make famine, starvation and disease, chronic to a degree not within the capacity of any human Government to grapple with successfully? Here are some of the dilemmas which the adoption of widow-marriage as a cure involves. The misfortune is, we cannot be generous to the widows without being ungenerous to the unmarried girls, or to both, unless at the sacrifice of the general interests of the community ; and the patrons of re-marriage are left to choose between them.

* After all the inference is irresistible that the woman question is yet far from satisfactory final solution even in the West ; and we should pause and ponder before making such a precipitate rush for the supposed boon of widow re-marriage.

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But it is the greatest blot of the Hindu polity that, while it enjoins perpetual widowhood on widows, it places no prohibition on widowers, who are practically free to re-enter wedlock as often as they like. This should not, however, be made the plea for detracting from the merits of a better system, or for dragging it from its high pedestal to a lower level. The right solution is not to educate *down* the widows, but to educate *up* the widowers. Perpetual widowhood is as much needful for the latter as for the former; and whatever has been urged about it in relation to the females, is all applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, in relation to the males.

It should be our aim to create public opinion on the question so as to prevent widowers from marrying again. The males are the stronger party, and the selfish instincts are naturally in the ascendant with mankind: still, firm believers as we are in the omnipotence of public opinion, we are entirely sanguine about our ultimate success, if it once could sufficiently be roused. Has not the fear of social castigation been sufficient, in highly civilized countries of the West, to stay the hands of the sickly, consumptive, or idlers from matrimony? The whole affair may seem chimerical at first sight, but it should ever be remembered that it is the unexpected that often comes to pass. The Rajputs have already recognized the true path and taken steps in advance of all nations. It is with unfeigned pleasure, not unmingled with some surprise, that we peruse the resolution of the "Rajput Reform Association," which binds down the widowers above the age of fifty not to befool themselves by repairing to the altar of Hymen any more. What an encouraging sign of the times!

It is better, I think, to conclude my paper with a summary of the net results of the discussion. They may be briefly stated as follows:—

Firstly.—Widow re-marriage, as it takes away from the ideality and spirituality of the sacrament of matrimony, and gives prominence to its coarser elements, and makes the notion of chastity conventional, is not expedient.

Secondly.—Socially or economically, it has no superiority over perpetual widowhood.

Thirdly.—With infant marriage extinguished, perpetual widowhood, both for *men* as well as *women*, is the true goal to be aspired to.

TRIPURA CHARAN BANERJEA.

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ART. IV.—THE WORSHIP OF THE PHALLIC EMBLEM AT TARAKESHWAR.

SIR W. JONES in his third anniversary discourse delivered before the Asiatic Society, of which he was President in 1786, states :—"I cannot but agree that one great spring and "fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe was "veneration paid by men to the vast body of fire which "looks from his sole dominion like the god of the world."

The worship of Târakeshwar to this day represents a vestige of the veneration alluded to by the President. Although the connection may not at first sight be very obvious, it is still identifiable, for in the Sivalinga, which is associated with the worship of Tarak Nath, we recognize the symbol of the sun god, the generator of life, its destroyer and reproducer, "under the sign of the organs of reproduction."*

Siva, as the prince of Jogis or ascetics, is represented as taking ganjah, not as an intoxicant, but as an aid to concentration of thought. As to his skulls and sword, these are not intended to convey any idea of delight in wanton destruction, but simply to indicate destruction as a necessary phase of being. His killing Kámadeo may be put down to his austere and virtuous character, and may be regarded as a protest against immorality, as well as a just retribution for the frivolous god interfering with his worship, and his grief over his wife's death. Siva is usually represented as a model husband. As the sun is to the sunflower, so is the sun-god to his bride Párvati (the earth). What more faithful and poetical representation of constancy is possible than that of the relations between the sun and earth? The allegory is varied in the epithets Kál and Káli applied to the god and goddess, he, the bright faced god of light, she, the azure faced goddess of the night. Here again constancy is a well marked attribute of the divine pair. One legend describes how Párbati, under the name of Sati, died because her father abused her husband, and the distracted husband, carrying his wife's dead body about with him in his wanderings, is a favorite subject with native artists.

So profoundly does the impression on this point still influence the modern Hindu, that, in addition to a series of very full-flavored curses that the little Bengali child-wife is taught to

* The Rev. G. W. Cox's mythology of the Aryan nations, p. 112.

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repeat at her marriage against a possible co-wife, she is taught to pray that she may be as the wife of Siva the constant. The cruelties of the Charak Puja, if incapable of apology, may reasonably be attributed to a vitiated form of worship of comparatively modern date, and peculiar to Bengal. Dr. H. H. Wilson describes the Charak Puja as "a festival which as a public religious observance is unknown anywhere else, and which is not directed nor countenanced by any of the authorities of the Hindus, not even the Tantras."

Not so with other sacrifices to Siva's consort, Kali, which, including human sacrifices, are set forth in detail in the Rudhirâdhyaya or sanguinary chapter of the Kalika Purana, and for which the only justification attempted is, that "through "sacrifices princes obtain bliss, heaven, and victory over their "enemies."

It cannot be forgotten that human sacrifices have a parallel in the Druidic period in our own land, and that the Old Testament advocates the sacrifice of bulls and of goats with great consistency.

Mr. Cox with great ingenuity traces the phallos in the tree of life, the rod of wealth of Hermes, the lituus, the augur, the crooked staff of the shepherd, the sceptre of the king, and the divining rod of modern conjurors. He finds that tree worship is a modified form of the worship of the phallic emblem, and that the snake was worshipped for the same reason.

Similarly the yoni* is traced in Noah's ark, the argo of the Achaian chieftains, the shell of Aphrodite, the ship borne in procession to the Parthenon, the ship of Isis, the lotos, various cups, including the sangreal and the luck of Eden Hall, and the horn of plenty. Mr. Cox with great candour states that the symbol as the serpent re-appears in the narrative of the temptation and fall of Eve, a conclusion that is supported by the fact that the yielding to temptation resulted in our first parents knowing that they were naked.

We know, that the phallic worship of Baal Peor was derived by the Jews from the Egyptians, with whom the emblem was the stauros or cross, and that its worship among the Jews was attended by bloody rites. What more probable than that the stauros with its altar of sacrifice attached, was used as the engine of execution for the victims of Baal? It is certain that crucifixion was eminently a Jewish form of execution, and it is not difficult to realize the connection between this cross and the stauros.

We find that no less than five times the altars of Baal were cast down by Gideon, Elijah, Jehu, Jehoida and Hezekiah,

* The linga is an erect cylinder of black or white stone rising out of a circular collar, the Yoni, also made of stone.

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respectively, at dates varying from 1256 to 726 B. C. The Jews are often described as a stiff-necked people, and it is quite conceivable that even among the orthodox Jews of the New Testament period, the stauros may have survived other forms of Baal worship as an instrument of immolation of the most degrading type, and that though the Jews were actuated by perfectly orthodox hatred to Christ, they unconsciously enacted a sacrifice on the altar of the sun-god for the healing of the nations. The dying words "They know not what they do" obtain increased significance viewed in this light, as referring not only to the murder of God in the flesh, but to the ignorance of the Jews who, under the impression that they were killing a schismatic, were making a sacrifice for the salvation of mankind.

It is, however, time to return to the exclusively Hindu conception of the sun-god in his embodied form as Siva. Among educated natives of the present day, the significance of the linga is very imperfectly understood.

Hindus are not ignorant of the common-place stories that have attached themselves to the later representations of their god; they can tell you why Siva's neck is blue, or why Kali has her tongue out when represented as treading on her husband's body; they display no reticence with regard to these and similar trifling incidents of the god's history; but it appears tolerably certain that the pure conception of the sun-god has been replaced by a number of fables, some with, and some possibly without, religious significance which are bound up in the conception of Siva of to-day. He is no longer the sun-god for the present generation, but by the usual process of anthropomorphism, he is a divinity in human shape of ascetic habits, living on Mount Koilas, and dividing his time between his wife Parbati, to whom he is much attached, and the practice of severe austerities; he is, for purposes of worship, regarded by his followers as the great god Mahadeo, a god to be feared and propitiated. The idea of the destroyer cultivated by such emblems as the garland of human heads is more present in the minds of his worshippers than the idea of the reproducer, and yet his benevolent nature is still recognized, for vows are made to him when favors are sought, and thanks are returned to him for favors vouchsafed. That the original idea of sun-worship should have been completely lost sight of is the more surprising, as not only in the linga is it found, but in Siva's bull, in the trident that he bears, in the serpent that he wears, in the circle and cross that surmounts his temple, and in his crescent we see various adaptations of the linga, or the yoni, or both. The bright silvery complexion that is attributed to this god, and his very name Siva, "the bright one," all tell the same tale. In spite, however, of the vagaries of the popular mind

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with reference to this deity, in his worship the Hindu has been true to the ancient symbol of the sun-god, and he is worshipped in no other form.

The moral effect of the worship of the phallos varies among different races. To the Egyptians it never conveyed any impure thoughts ; the Lampsicans, on the other hand, gave themselves up to every form of lasciviousness and impurity during the worship of Priapus ; the Jews sinned in their worship of Baal, and seem to have combined, if Milton is to be believed, brutality with lust. In reference to Chemos, the abomination of Moab, who is identical with Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon, the great epic poet sings :—

'Peor his other name, when he enticed
'Israel in Sittim, on their march from Nile
'To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe ;
'Yet thence his lustful orgies he enlarged
'Ev'n to the hill of scandal, by the grove
'Of Molock homicide, lust hard by hate.'

I note, however, that in all the scriptural references that I have been able to find on the subject of Baal's worship, the chief features seem to be, causing their sons to pass through the fire, the use of divination and enchantments, the erection of calves as objects of worship, and the worship of the hosts of heaven.

In the genuine worship of the Siva-linga there is, as was the case with the Egyptians, no impure association whatever ; if I have in the sequel to refer to immorality that may be witnessed at Târakeshwar, I take this opportunity of stating that it has no more connection with the worship of Siva under the form of the linga, than the number of cases of drunk and disorderly on Easter Monday has to do with the Christian festival of the preceding day.

I proceed to deal with the worship of the linga at the shrine of Târakeshwar as witnessed by me on the occasion of the Choit Sankrant festival in the month of April last :—

In the village of Ramnagor, the name of which has given place to that of the presiding deity of the place, stands the temple of Târakeshwar. It is about 20 miles west of the East Indian Railway, and is accessible by rail by means of a branch line which starts from the Seoraphuli junction.

The actual shrine, Garbha Griha, is a small building on the south bank of a large tank which is known as the Boro Baboo's Pukur, the Dudh Pukur or the Siva Ganga. There is nothing about the temple to distinguish it from any other Siv Mandir ; it contains the usual Siv-linga in its dark recesses, and is surmounted by the usual Sivaite emblems. To the south of the Garbha Griha, and facing its outer entrance, is an

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open hall (Sabha), the roof of which is supported on pillars. This place at ordinary time is used by pilgrims for the performance of *dharna*; here they remain given up to meditation till such time as the deity makes known his wishes to them. The only remarkable objects in this hall are a stone representation of Siva's bull, Nandi on a pedestal, and four hanging bells, one of which is rung by each person before he salutes the bull: on the occasion of the Choit Sankrant the crowd is so great that no one is allowed to sit *dharna* in this hall, which is occupied by persons engaged in reading the Hindu Scriptures, and men and women who have measured their lengths from various places to the temple gate. Exhausted pilgrims may here be seen lying down to rest, their clothes saturated with water and soiled with mud. On the east side of this hall are the tombs of former Mahants or chief priests; on the west sits the Mahant receiving the offerings of the worshippers in money. It is estimated that at the Choit Sankrant, and at the Sivaratri festivals, no less than Rs. 40,000 is collected from pilgrims. The Choit Sankrant alone is believed to attract 45,000 pilgrims from Hooghly and the adjoining districts. I had the advantage of receiving the following information from the present Mohunt, Madhab Chunder Giri:—About 785 of the Bengali era, or above 510 years ago, Raja Bhavamálá lived at the village of Ramnagar; a pilgrim, Nyágiri Doomrápon, arrived at Ramnagar, and rested there on his journey to Púrí. In a dream this pilgrim received orders from Tárak Náth not to pursue his journey as god was in Ramnagar in the form of a linga; on this news being duly communicated to Raja Bhavamálá, the Rájá searched diligently till he found the linga on the site of the present temple, which he caused to be erected over the holy symbol. The first shrine was enlarged about 150 years ago by the piety of Gobardhan Rakhit.

The pilgrims to Târakeshwar are locally termed Sanyásís, a word which possesses a narrower signification in other relations. The complete programme for a Sanyásí to perform is as follows. He is not allowed to make use of the Târakeshwar Railway, but takes to the road at Baidyabáti. From thence he performs *dandikáti*, or measures his length on the ground for a distance of 20 miles, till he reaches the Bel Pukur, which is about quarter of a mile from the temple. Progression by this slow system occupies him ten days, two miles a day being considered average good going. All pilgrims do not perform it; it is perfectly optional for a devotee to do the whole, or a small portion, or none at all,—the greater the disease, the longer the penance. Having reached the Bel Pukur the pilgrim has a bath, and with his dripping clothes proceeds as before with his religious exercises, till he reaches the

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temple door. After adoration, he or she, for both sexes measure their lengths, proceeds to bathe in the second tank. Others bring Ganges water in earthen vessels. After offering their oblations, which are essential to all forms of worship here, they pass on, pour the Ganges water over the linga, and refill their vessels with the water thus rendered additionally holy.

The votaries of Târakeswar are distinguished by clothes dyed yellow, the correct dye to use being gerimáti or yellow sulphuret of arsenic; in practice I was informed that by women a weak solution of the familiar magenta is used. The object of the dye is to conceal dirt, as the clothes should not be washed for the period of the vow; this period extends in some cases to 30 days, but may be shorter.

Another sign of the votary is the Sútri, which is a hánk of soft cotton threads worn round the neck and tied in front. It is about the size and consistency of a small cotton *izárband*. Many, too, wear round the neck a garland of *akoond* flowers. All dwellers in the mofussil must be familiar with these beautifully shaded lilac and waxlike flowers growing on a rather stunted bush with large downy leaves; it is common on railway and other embankments, among ruins, and on rubbish heaps. The flower is worn at the Choit Sankrant, because it was a favorite of Siva; other floral garlands are also worn for ornaments, but the *akoond* only possesses religious significance.

The votaries wear their hair long as part of the vow, and smear their bodies and faces with a paste made of white sandal wood. The vow, which is purely voluntary, and which is said to be faithfully observed, imposes chastity, abstinence from flesh and some kinds of vegetables, only one cooked meal a day being allowed, the shaving of the head on the expiration of the term, and, in some cases, the exceedingly trying mode of progression alluded to above.

The vow terminates on the last day of the month of Choit, that is to say, at the close of the Bengali year, and on the following day the male votaries have their heads clean shaved and are released from the vow. The ordinary objects of the vow are, to obtain forgiveness of sin and to secure relief in cases of sickness or sterility, though chiefly in cases of sickness, as the god is considered to possess great healing powers. Nothing can exceed the extreme orderliness and decorum with which the festival is carried out; there is but little of the fair about it; with the exception of a Mahomedan buffoon or two and a single peep-show, there were none of those secular diversions which help out the Harihar Chattar at Sonepore.

The throng, consisting almost entirely of the agricultural classes, was in a distinctly devotional frame, and those who

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saw males and females grovelling in the water and mud, in the course of their repeated prostrations, or heard the fervor of the shouts of "*Tárak Nath páe Sewâ Lâge*," * which was the only loud sound which disturbed the religious quiet of the place, might doubt the allegation that Hinduism is moribund. For a Hindu to perform any function without the inevitable big drum is in itself strong testimony to the solemnity of the occasion.

There is another mela held at Târakeshwar in the month of February on the occasion of the Sivarátri. This festival is held on the dark half of the month of Fálgoon, and it was on that day, according to the Ishana Sanhita, that Siva manifested himself as a marvellous and interminable linga to confound the pretensions of both Brahmá and Vishnu who were disputing which was the greater divinity. To decide the quarrel, they agreed that he should be acknowledged the greater who should first ascertain the limits of the extraordinary object which appeared of a sudden before them. Setting forth in opposite directions, Vishnu undertook to reach the base, Brahma the summit; but after some thousand years of the gods spent in the attempt, the end seemed to be as remote as ever; and both returned discomfited and humiliated and confessed the vast superiority of Siva. The legend seems to typify the exaltation of Siva worship over that of Vishnu and Brahma, an event which, no doubt, at one time took place.

It may be incidentally mentioned that the story of Priápus appears to be traceable to this Indian source, as according to the most received opinion, this monster was the son of Venus and Bacchus, after the god, returning victorious from his Indian expedition, was met by the goddess of beauty.

For the Sivarátri festival the same high character for propriety cannot be claimed as for the festival of the Choit Sankrant. The former festival, I was informed, was frequented by respectable natives, whereas the April ceremony was not. The force of the word "respectable" lies in its application, and it must be understood that the adjective applies to the position of the frequenters rather than to their practice of respectability. I have good warrant for saying that the Sivaratri festival presents scenes of drunken and obscene revelry, enacted by Bengali sparks out on the spree and ladies of easy virtue from Calcutta.

The last Sivarátri festival was remarkable for a small incident which illustrates the infinite adaptability of the Bengali nation to the march of events. A Calcutta lady, having chartered a first class carriage, had it put on a siding and used it as her headquarters during the festival. I would not for a moment wish

* My services to the feet of Tárak Nath.

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it to be understood that these holiday makers are genuine worshippers of Tárak Nath, though the circumstance that the use of the intoxicating Siddhi is allowed and even enjoined at this festival may be quoted in explanation of some degree of irregularity. The Sivaratri * is nevertheless considered by the worshippers of Siva as the most sacred of all their religious festivals, and feasting vigils, and linga worship are enjoined, accompanied by a quaint ceremony in which the worshipper performs the *mátrika nyása* or alphabet pledge, in which the devotee touches his thumb, fingers and other parts of his body with a few stalks of *Durba* grass (Panicum dactylon), reciting at each touch a letter of the alphabet followed by short mystical prayers consisting chiefly of unmeaning syllables, very much in the style of "A was an archer that shot at a frog" applied to devotional purposes.

In connection with the temple of Tárakeshwar there is a curious legend which is believed by the masses, though discredited, for obvious reasons, by the hierophant of the place, which robs the first of the Mohunts of the credit of having been instrumental in discovering Tárak Nath and inducing Raja Bhava Mála to erect the shrine. The credit of this virtuous act is popularly ascribed to Mukund Ghosh, a humble milkman, who noticed that one of his cows named Bhárati, though in full milk at the time, returned from pasture quite dry; the movements of Bhárati were watched, and she was observed to go into the jungle and pour out her milk on a stone, which turned out to be the god Siva in the form of a linga; this easy system of milking might be commended to the caste-fellows of Mukund Ghosh as an excellent substitute for the *phooka*. On the above facts coming to the notice of the good Raja of Rámnagar, he tried to remove the stone, but failing in this, he, under the instructions of the deity, conveyed to him in a dream, erected a shrine over the emblem where Tárakeshwar's temple now stands.

A black stone, enclosed by masonry and lying flat on the ground, is pointed out as the grave of Mukund the milkman, and the pious make offerings to his *manes*, by placing their pice on the stone which is from time to time sprinkled with milk by the Brahmans in attendance. The stone is said by those who do not revere Mukund Ghose to be the grave of Bhoirob, a gate-keeper of the temple.

The present Mohunt is said to be the thirteenth in descent from Nyágiri Doomrápon. He is a hale and strong man of about 50, and may well preside for several years more, which

* Dr. Wilson's Essays on the Religion of the Hindus, Vol. II, pp. 211 219.

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would give the thirteen priests an average period of incumbency of about forty years, accepting the date of the foundation given, *viz.*, 785 of the Bengal era, as correct.

Forty years tenure of an hereditary post is scarcely a probable average, but the date may not after all be so far from the truth, when it is remembered that the succession is spiritual and not hereditary. The Mohunts are professed celibates, and each appoints his own successor from among his disciples.

In the above pages I have endeavored to place in juxtaposition the worship of Siva the sun-god as it now exists, with the original conception as it appeared to the Rishis and sages of the Vedic period; the latter has necessarily been but cursorily dealt with, as the fields of Hindu mythology are wide.

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ART. V.—CAMEOS OF INDIAN DISTRICTS.

III.—The Sundarbans.

THE Sundarbans is the name commonly given to all the southern portion of the delta of the Ganges, but in its stricter sense it means so much of that portion of the delta as was excluded from the Permanent Settlement. The Sundarbans stretch from the Hooghly on the west to the Meghna, the estuary of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, on the east; and comprise the southern portions of the present districts of the 24-Parganas, Khulna and Bakarganj. The old districts differed very considerably from the present division of the country. The district of Bakarganj was carved out of the old Dacca district; and Dacca Jellalpur disappeared long ago. Many minor alterations have occurred, and lastly Khulna was carved out of Jessore and the 24-Parganas a few years ago.

Various derivations have been suggested for the word Sundarban, but only two appear probable. One is *sundari*, the sundri tree, and *ban*, forest, the whole word meaning "the sundri forests"; and the other *samudra* (through its corrupted and vulgar form *samundar*), the sea, and *ban*, forest, the whole meaning "the forests near the sea." There are two arguments in favour of the former derivation, first, that the sundri tree is the commonest tree there, and secondly, that the word is sometimes locally pronounced *Sundariban*. There is one argument in favour of the second derivation, that the same name is given to similar forests in the south of the Chittagong district, where, I have been told, sundri trees do not grow, or are rare. I believe, too, though I cannot recall any passage, that the word *samudra-vana* occurs in Sanskrit authors as meaning large forest tracts near the sea. The second derivation seems the more probable, though it is possible the former has also exerted some influence in the present form of the word.

The Sundarbans are entirely an alluvial formation. They are pierced by large estuaries throughout, especially in the west portion where there are no rivers, for the Ganges and its branches have long ago left that part of the country and their waters pour out further east. Most of the branches now intersect Bakarganj, but a few are found in Khulna. The estuaries and rivers run generally north and south. The three largest estuaries are called the Matla, Roymangal and Sipsa rivers, the first running up to Port Canning and being connected with Calcutta by Tolly's Nullah. There is little or

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no current down these estuaries; they are tidal water-courses, and the water in the west is as salt as the sea. In the middle the water is rendered less salt by the fresh water that comes down the few rivers there, the chief of which are the Kalindi ("the black river") and Pasar; but it seems that these rivers are gradually silting up. The Bhairab, which passes Jessore, has silted up long ago; yet its name "the terrible" would indicate that it was once a furious steam. Among the many rivers in Bakarganj, the chief are the Baleswar (the "lord of might") on which Morrellganj stands, and the Bishkhali (the "poison-stream"); and the water there is comparatively sweet.

The scenery in the Sundarbans possesses no beauty. The view even from a short distance is a wide stretch of low forest with an outline almost even, and rarely broken by a tree rising above the dull expanse. In the forests, so far as I have seen them, there are few trees above thirty or thirty-five feet high, and few attain any considerable girth. This seems to be the result of the closeness with which they grow, and the poverty of the soil which is impregnated with salt. But when a tree can get room enough to grow freely, it will attain a much greater size. I have not been much into the Reserved Portion of the forest, and I believe the trees there are larger than in the open portion. The finest and largest trees I have seen have been almost invariably in places where the land had once been cleared; so that they had a good start before the jungle sprang up around them. There is little undergrowth in the forests, though here and there one may find cane-brakes and thickets of prickly scrub; and there is more of matted undergrowth and tropical luxuriance to be found in Saugor Island than elsewhere. Few of the forest trees display a handsome bloom, as far as I have noticed at all times of the year except during the rains; the prettiest is a species of *Hibiscus* which grows freely along the banks of the streams, and bears large yellow flowers which turn to crimson as they droop. The only views that have some charm are to be found when drifting silently along with the tide on a bright day in February and March in the smaller streams in the Bakarganj forest. The low golpátá palm with its immense leaves, the thickets of the *Hibiscus* with its yellow and crimson blossoms, and clumps of the dark-green prickly kewá grow along the banks and overhang the stream, while above them the forest closes in with breaks of sunshine streaming through the foliage. A brilliant king-fisher may be met perched on a bough over the water; deer and wild pig may be seen quietly enjoying themselves in the jungle; and, to add a spice of danger to the peaceful scene, one may come across a tiger at any moment.

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Between these large estuaries and rivers are innumerable streams and water-courses, called *khâls*, forming a perfect network of channels, and ending ultimately in little channels that serve to draw off the water from each block of land. For each block is formed like a saucer, with high ground along the bank of the khals surrounding it, and with one or more depressions in the middle according to the size of the block. The water collects in the depressions, and is drained off by the little khal into the larger khals, and ultimately into the rivers; conversely when the water swells in the rivers, it floods the country through the same courses. Many of the khals connect two large ones, and consequently the tide flows into them through both ends; such khals are called *do-ôniya khals* in the 24-Parganas and Khulna, and *bhârônis* in Bakarganj. They are very useful as affording communication between the larger khals, but have one serious defect, that they are liable to silt up at the point where the two tides meet, for the water is always still there.

The rivers and khals abound with fish of all kinds and support a large fishing population. Fish caught near Calcutta or large towns is carried there, but the greater quantity is, I believe, consumed locally. Fish are sometimes conveyed alive long distances by enclosing them in a larger wicker-cage, which is towed behind the boat; but this is not common. There was once a fishery and fish-drying business near the mouth of the Meghna, but it was given up many years ago. The subject of fisheries has lately attracted considerable attention. It would be out of place for me to enter upon the question here, but there can be no doubt that the old records contain a mass of information, which might have been usefully considered in recent discussions. In the year 1860 the Sundarban rivers and khals were divided into blocks and farmed out by public auction; and Government derived a considerable revenue from the farms till the question of the public right of fishery was raised. Then, after some discussion, the Government gave up the fisheries in 1867.

The water throughout the Sundarbans is necessarily very dirty, being full of the mud and impurities brought down from up-country. In the middle and eastern portions, where the rivers ensure a constant out-flow to the sea, the waters are comparatively wholesome; but in the west, where there is no strong current and the tide alone flows in and out, objectionable matter is washed up and down for some time before it finds its way into the sea.

Amid such unfavourable conditions the climate is, of course, very unhealthy. The ground is never dry except for the two or three months of the hot season, and malaria is always rife.

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On the large rivers and on their high banks, where the air can circulate freely, there is comparative immunity; but the bulk of the people have their houses near the banks of the khals that penetrate everywhere into the land. There is generally a belt of jungle along the banks of such khals, for no cultivation can be attempted outside the enbankments where the salt water can reach. These khals therefore are closely shut in by jungle, and the condition of the water in them increases the insalubrity. If the khal is open, the tide flows in and out, and leaves, except at high tide, a bank of mud, which is as much as ten or twelve feet high in places near the sea. If the mouth of the khal has been dammed, the water is necessarily stagnant and unwholesome. The people cannot escape these unhealthy conditions, for roads are unknown in the Sundarbans, and the waterways are the only means of communication with outside places; while the embankments are the chief means of communication within the blocks of land. I suppose, however, the people have become inured to these conditions, for there is not, I believe, more sickness among them than in Central and Eastern Bengal. Wholesome fresh-water can scarcely be had anywhere, and even when ordinary fresh-water is not obtainable, the people will use water that is slightly brackish without apparently any deleterious consequences. The wild animals must, of course, drink water more or less salt, for it is very seldom they can get access to a tank of fresh water.

Along the Hooghly the land is high, but east of it, as far as the river Kalindi, that is in the 24-Parganas, the land is lower and is liable to be submerged, and immense embankments are indispensable to its reclamation. From the Kalindi to the Baleswar, that is in Khulna, the land is moderately high, and the embankments are only a few feet high. East of the Baleswar, that is in Bakarganj, the land is so high that embankments are unnecessary. The results of these conditions and of the quality of the water, which I have already mentioned, is very striking. In Bakarganj everything looks prosperous, and every rayat, who is at all well-off, has a good homestead with plenty of fruit trees and some cold weather crops, in addition to rice which is practically the only crop that can be grown in the Sundarbans. In the 24-Parganas cocoanuts will not grow, and fruit trees do not thrive, so that the country wears a less cheerful aspect. Khulna, with its intermediate conditions, presents a corresponding appearance; yet even there large tracts are so swampy, that the people who cultivate them are obliged to reside elsewhere, and the appearance of the country is then one vast plain covered with rice and reed and rush, and broken here and there by clumps or

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lines of low trees which fringe the streams, for only along their banks is the ground at all raised or firm, and inside one may easily sink knee-deep in the muddy soil even in the dry months of the year. One of these swampy tracts seems to have been sinking during the last forty years; it was once fairly cultivated ground and people lived on it, but now it is almost waste.

Whether the Sundarbans were formerly cultivated or not is a question sometimes asked, and difficult to answer. Large tanks, masonry buildings and structures, and high embankments are met with in various places throughout the Sundarbans, but chiefly in the 24-Parganas and Khulna portions, and are cited as indications of a former prosperity. I do not, however, think there was ever any extensive cultivation in the heart of the Sundarbans, though no doubt cultivation once extended throughout the northern portion of the Sundarbans, and considerably further south than when we acquired the country. For the present subdivisional town of Bagherhat is not mentioned in Major Rennell's atlas of 1779; and a few miles to the south is an old mosque sacred to a Mohammedan saint, with large tanks near. The roof of the mosque consists of about sixty small domes, supported by slender stone pillars. No stone is procurable any where in the neighbourhood, and the stone is said (with every probability of truth) to have been brought all the way from Chittagong. This subject was discussed some years ago by Mr. H. Blochmann, the well-known authority in archæological matters, and he came to the conclusion that there had been no marked change since the fifteenth century, but it seems probable that constant fluctuation occurred during those lawless times. It is well-known, too, that even during the present century considerable tracts have fallen back into jungle. During the last century the Sundarbans were infested with dacoits and pirates who had their retreats in the forest and sallied out to prey on the country and waters around. During the first half of this century, the Government had its salt manufacture established in various places in the Sundarbans. These two facts go some way to explain the existence of many masonry remains without resorting to the theory of a former widespread civilization. Still it is a common popular belief, that the Sundarbans were once extensively cultivated, and I have found its former prosperity during the Mughal Empire referred to as an undoubted fact in a letter written in 1783. If this be true, it can be explained in only one way, that the country must have been considerably higher than it is now, about as high as the land at the extreme east near the Meghna, and that the Ganges sent more fresh water through Central Bengal than it

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does now, for it is scarcely probable that with the present level and present insalubrious conditions, former inhabitants could have succeeded where all modern efforts have obtained but a partial success.

There are reasons for believing that there has been some subsidence of the country in comparatively recent times, for in excavations near Khulna the remains of an old forest of sundri trees were found eighteen feet below the present surface of the ground. The lower portions of their trunks and their roots were in their natural position, and alongside them lay the upper portions of their trunks broken off. Many of the trees were quite decomposed, but in others the woody fibre was nearly perfect. Again, near Sealdah sundri tree stumps were found similarly embedded thirty feet below the present surface. Sundri trees do not grow, it is said, except between high-water and low-water levels; so that the trees could not have grown naturally as they were found. This subject was discussed by the Revenue Survey Officers and by the Meteorological Reporter to the Government, and the conclusion arrived at was that, while partial depressions may have occurred through the weight of the earth and forest, yet the main depressions were caused more or less suddenly during some great earthquakes. Accepting this explanation, it seems very probable that the lands throughout the Sundarbans were once as high as those to the east; higher than that it is scarcely possible for them to have been, considering that they are entirely alluvial.

When the East India Company acquired the civil administration of Bengal in 1765, Diamond Harbour was forest, and the country even in the vicinity of Calcutta was in a wild and uncultivated state, especially to the east, where the forest approached to within about seven miles from the town. All the forest was admittedly the property of the State.

The first effort to reclaim the forest was made in 1770 by Mr. Claude Russell, the Collector-General, in the present district of the 24-Parganas. He granted leases which allowed the lessee an initial period free of rent until he should have made some progress in the cultivation, and fixed an ultimate rate of about Rs. 1½ per acre on all the land that might be found reclaimed when surveys should be made from time to time. These (disregarding details which are varied to suit varying circumstances) are the usual terms on which forest lands have been leased out. Those lands were called *patit-ábádi* taluks, that is, taluks for the reclamation of waste land. Very considerable progress was made by those lessees, and the neighbouring zamindars also busied themselves in promoting cultivation, so that during the forty years following the

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country was cleared almost down to Saugor Island on the south, and nearly as far as Port Canning on the east.

The next effort was made by Mr. Tilman Henckell, Judge and Magistrate of Jessore, in 1783. His scheme was to lease out small plots to raiyats so as to establish a body of independent peasant proprietors holding directly under Government. The terms were very similar to those of Mr. Claude Russell's leases. It was approved by Warren Hastings, and Mr. Henckell after roughly defining the boundaries of the Sundarban forest, granted about one hundred and fifty leases during 1785. He entertained very sanguine expectations of success, and did his utmost to advance the scheme, but it was opposed by all the neighbouring zamindars, who claimed the lands cleared by the grantees and indeed all the forest, but declined to afford him any information about their estates that might enable him to decide the disputes. During 1786 he demarcated with bamboos what he considered to be the northern boundary of the forest, and strengthened the position of the lessees, but notwithstanding all his efforts, the struggle was too severe for the lessees, and in 1792 they had all disappeared except sixteen; and in their cases the character of the scheme had been modified—the lessees developed into talukdars, and their lands were called "Henckell's taluks."

It was the character of these early grants, and the exclusion both of these grants and of the forest from the Permanent Settlement that has rendered the history of the Sundarbans peculiar, and different from what occurred in other districts except such frontier districts as Chittagong. A brief account of the administration of the Sundarbans may prove interesting, for it is little known, having been buried in the oblivion of many volumes of old correspondence, and Sundarban schemes once largely affected the enterprise of Calcutta.

About the year 1810 various schemes appear to have been broached for the improvement of the port of Calcutta. One was to reclaim Saugor Island; another was to construct wet docks at Diamond Harbour. These schemes drew attention to the Sundarbans, and the Government determined to re assert its rights which had lain dormant till then. During those years various surveys had been carried out in the Sundarbans which have been of inestimable value ever since.

The Sundarbans (exclusive of the sea face) from the Hooghly as far as the river Pasar, were surveyed by Lieutenant W. E. Morrieson, during the years 1811-1814, and his results were corrected by his brother Captain Hugh Morrieson in 1818. This was a great work, and must have been most arduous. It introduced certainty where previously all had been chaos, and

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it has been the basis of all subsequent maps of the Sundarbans. A Captain Robertson surveyed the main water-routes from the Hooghly as far as the district of Noakhali during 1810; and a portion of the sea coast, east of the Hooghly, was surveyed by Lieutenant Blane in 1813-14. Lieutenant Morrieson in the course of his survey found that the north east branch of the Roymangal estuary approached to within a very short distance of the Kalindi, and he made a cut joining the two rivers. The stream of the latter very soon enlarged the cut, and a large quantity of its fresh water was diverted and passed into the Roymangal. At that time cultivation extended much further south on the east bank of the Kalindi than on the west, but the diversion of so much fresh water deprived that country of one of its chief advantages, and a considerable tract reverted into jungle—a signal instance of far-reaching disastrous consequences arising out of a seemingly trifling act. "Morrieson's cut" has, however, by opening up a new route, conferred a perhaps more than equivalent benefit on the Sundarban traffic. In this connexion I may also mention a cut called "Leonard's cut," which was made about the year 1862 to connect the north-western branch of the Sipsa with the Kabadak, and which has been a great boon to traffic.

An attempt was made during the years 1814-16 to re-measure the grants already mentioned and revise their rentals, but it met with only partial success. The advantages, however, that the State might gain from the opening up of the Sundarbans were clearly perceived, and a law was passed in 1816, sanctioning the appointment of an officer to deal with the Sundarbans, to be styled the "Commissioner in the Sundarbans," with all the powers and duties of a Collector.

Inquiries and measurements were first begun by a Mr. Scott in the country south and east of Calcutta, and it was found that encroachment and reclamation had been continuously progressing, partly by the lessees, partly by the zamindars, and partly by unauthorized persons. All this increase of area brought under cultivation was held without payment of any revenue to the State. The proposal to levy revenue from it naturally aroused the opposition of all the persons interested, and especially of the zamindars, who claimed the whole of the forest, and among whom were several very powerful individuals; and they resisted the operations with every kind of open and secret opposition, fraud and chicanery; indeed, Mr. Scott was allowed a small escort of twelve sepoys for his protection. Besides these difficulties from without, the Government, though it had expressly declared in a law enacted in 1817 that the Sundarbans were the property of the State,

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yet began to entertain misgivings as to whether it was not debarred by the Permanent Settlement from dealing with these lands. These adverse circumstances, and the intricacy of the questions that arose, practically put an end to the operations for the next four years.

In 1821 the Sundarban office was reconstituted under Mr. Dale, and was re-inforced by a survey-party under Ensign Prinsep, with the wider object of demarcating the State lands from private estates. But directly the inquiries began in the district of the 24-Parganas, it was found that, if the zamindars were to be believed, there were no State lands at all, for they claimed all the forest that abutted on their estates down to the sea coast, and yet declined to point out their lands. The only course, therefore, was to survey all the lands that had been brought into cultivation during the previous thirty years, and that was done. Mr. Prinsep surveyed the line of dense forest from the river Jabuna to the Hooghly in 1822 and 1823; and with the aid of the Morriesons' map, he divided all the forest lands between those rivers into blocks and numbered them: this was the beginning of the "Sundarban lots."

All the circumstances of the lands being made known by these surveys, attention was next directed to the claim of the State to demand revenue both from the recently reclaimed lands and also from the forest; the land-owners on the contrary claimed to hold all these lands and the forest as part and parcel of their estates, at the revenue fixed at the Permanent Settlement, and free from increased revenue. The establishment of the right of the State to demand revenue from lands that pay no revenue is called *resumption*. If the right is established, the next business is to fix what revenue should be paid, and this is called *settlement*. Resumption was not an easy matter, on account of the intricacy of the claims, the paucity of trustworthy documents, and the fabrication of false papers; but the exertions of Messrs Dale, R. D. Mangles, John Lowis and other officers overcame the difficulties, and recovered to the State all the lands that had been surreptitiously encroached on, and all the forest in the 24-Parganas, by the year 1828.

During the years 1827 and 1828 the whole subject of the rights of the State over the recent cultivation and the forest underwent a thorough discussion, and was conclusively and finally determined in favour of the State. The Government had believed that no claims would be asserted which were not grounded on some foundation of plausible rights, and that the right of the State to the forest lands would not be contested, but the anticipations had been ruefully disappointed, though it was beyond dispute that the lands had been

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reclaimed from the forest after the Permanent Settlement. The system adopted, also, of issuing notices to claimants, had been unfortunate, for it almost amounted to one of advertising for claimants to valuable rights.

The deliberations resulted in the enactment of a Regulation in 1828 which declared,—"The uninhabited tract known by the name of the Sundarbans has ever been, and is hereby declared still to be, the property of the State; the same not having been alienated or assigned to zamindars, or included in any way in the arrangements of the Perpetual Settlement, it shall therefore be competent to the Governor General in Council to make, as heretofore, grants, assignments, and leases of any part of the said Sundarbans, and to take such measures for the clearance and cultivation of the tract as he may deem proper and expedient." It also enacted that the boundary of the Sundarban forest should be determined by the Sundarban Commissioner and laid down by accurate survey.

Mr. William Dampier was appointed Commissioner, and Lieutenant Hodges, Surveyor. The jurisdiction was now extended over the whole of the Sundarbans in Khulna and Bakarganj. They defined and surveyed the line of dense forest from the Jabuna (where one end of Prinsep's line was) up to the eastern limit of the Sundarbans, during the years 1829 and 1830; and Mr. Dampier formally affirmed Prinsep's line in the 24-Parganas in 1832-33. "Prinsep's line" and "Hodges' line" are the authoritative limits of the then Sundarban forest. Out of his own surveys and those made by his predecessors, Lieutenant Hodges prepared a map of the whole of the Sundarbans in 1831, which has been the standard map of the Sundarbans ever since. Following Prinsep's method, he divided all the forest as far as the river Pasar into blocks, and revising the numbering, reduced the whole of his and Prinsep's blocks into a series numbered from 1 to 236. The aggregate area of these 236 "Sundarban lots" was computed at 1,702,420 acres or 2,660 square miles. Beyond the river Pasar no detailed survey of the forest had been made, and it was impossible to continue the allotments there.

When the forest line was authoritatively determined, it became necessary to deal with the lands which had been already reclaimed and were held free of land revenue, that is, to resume and settle them. These operations were diligently prosecuted, but being very long and tedious occupied attention for many years afterwards. It would be out of place to pursue this portion of the administration at any length, and a few remarks will present the general results.

The resumptions may be divided into two stages at the year 1836. The proceedings till that year dealt with what may be

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called the prominent and indisputable cases of encroachment, and most satisfactory results were accomplished. Very large tracts were recovered to Government, and indeed, the area of the Sundarbans at that time did not differ much from what it is at the present time. After that year the proceedings were more intricate and difficult, for the inquiries were then systematically conducted into the smaller and clandestine cases of encroachment, which had either escaped notice before, or had been left because of their difficulty for more thorough and leisurely investigation. As fast as each estate was resumed, it was brought under settlement, and the increase of revenue may be computed roughly at about 2½ or 3 lakhs up to about the year 1844.

As early as the year 1819 the Government had contemplated making grants of the forest lands with a view to their being cleared, but nothing definite was decided upon, though a few isolated grants had been made both before and after that year. The most noteworthy of these was a lease granted in 1805 for for a tract in the Bakarganj Sundarbans at a fixed rental of Rs. 349. So little, however, was then known about the lands, that the lessee laid claim to about 120 square miles of forest land. His claim was contested by Government, and gave rise to long and varying litigation, which was not finally decided till 1870, when the Privy Council decreed about half to the lessee and the rest to the State. Those lands are some of the finest in the Sundarbans and belonged to the Nawab of Dacca.

Rules for the grant of the forest were promulgated in March 1830, and as the right of the State to the forest had been established, there was no hindrance to the granting out of the lands. Applications poured in, mostly from the Europeans resident in Calcutta, who had formed sanguine expectations of success. With the exception of some lands reserved for the Salt Department, applicants practically got gratis whatever they asked for in the 24-Parganas and Khulna. During the two years 1830 and 1831, 98 lots were granted away, and 12 more during the next five years, with a total area of 551,520 acres. The principal grantees, those who got several lots, were Messrs. Kerr, Sturmer, McDermott, Mackenzie, D'Costa, Betts, Clark, Hamerton, Heatly, Storm, Rogers, Campbell, Fergusson, Brae and Pigou; and among natives Radha Krishna Datt, Guru Prasad Chowdhury and Hafizuddin. These grants were made in perpetuity at a rental of about Re. 1½ per acre, and nothing was payable during the first 20 years; but it was a condition that one-fourth the area should be rendered fit for cultivation within five years, under pain of the grant being forfeited to Government, this condition being held necessary to ensure that the grantees should carry out the object for which they had received the lands. No

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regular grants could be made in the eastern part of the Sundarbans, for no detailed survey had been made of the forest lands there up to that time.

The first thing to be done in reclamation is to embank the lands. This means that a line must be cut through the forest along the banks of the streams surrounding the lot, and the embankment thrown up along the line; and that strong dams must be constructed across the mouths of the smaller streams which run into the block in order to keep the salt water out. When this work is finished, the regular business begins of felling the forest, digging tanks, and constructing huts for the future cultivators. All these operations require months of constant attention and the earlier operations are difficult and dangerous. A strong body of coolies must be procured who must be supported all the while with food and fresh water. Their health and safety must be cared for, and a shikari is generally employed to fire off his gun occasionally to frighten away the tigers that abound in the forest; if there is no shikari, the coolies raise a combined shout at short intervals. Unusual sickness or destruction by tigers may produce a panic and inflict almost irreparable loss. In spite of all precautions, they suffer from both evils.

The grantees appear to have prosecuted their undertaking with enthusiasm. Besides the inherent difficulties of the reclamation, it could have been no easy matter for them, numerous as they were, to collect all the labourers they wanted, or a sufficient number of raiyats to settle on the lands permanently. The labourers they procured were the Sundarban wood-cutters, coolies from Chota Nagpur, and Magh coolies from the eastern frontier. The difficulties were greater in the case of those grantees whose lands lay deeper in the forest; yet even those, who got grants bordering on the cultivated tracts and were in a comparatively advantageous position, suffered severely from the hostility of the zamindars in disputes regarding their boundaries. To add to all these difficulties, great damage was inflicted on most of the grants by a storm and wave on 21st May 1833, which swept up the Hooghly and desolated the country on both sides. Still good progress was made for a time, and only about twelve grants were forfeited during the first ten years.

After the first eager competition, the applications fell off, but they revived in 1839, and about half of the forfeited grants were re-leased out, besides some twelve new lots. By that time a juster estimate had been formed of the capabilities of the Sundarbans. Indeed, a number of the grantees petitioned the Government in 1841 for more liberal terms, and the Government expressed its readiness to show every indulgence to those who had really exerted themselves to reclaim their lands.

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Some of the persons who got grants were mere speculators; they did not attempt to clear their lands, but realized whatever profit they could get from the wood and other natural products, and sold the lots as soon as they could find a purchaser; so that, having acquired the grants free of cost, they made an advantageous speculation. In few cases did the grantees comply at once with the clearance condition, for forfeiture was waived in about one-third of the lots; but in rather more than one-third the difficulties and losses experienced proved insuperable to the grantees, who in consequence virtually gave up the undertaking, so that the Government was obliged to cancel their grants as forfeited. In fact, few grantees were able to succeed who had not ample capital at their command. The reclamation required unceasing care and vigilance, for desertion among the raiyats left the lands fallow and unremunerative, till fresh raiyats could be engaged at heavy expense; and if the embankment chanced to be breached, the salt water poured in and ruined the soil with a deposit of salt. The first allotment had been in a measure a matter of luck, for as each lot was given to the first applicant, the best lots were taken up by the earliest applicants. Until some progress was made in the lots bordering on the cultivated tracts, it was almost hopeless for a grantee, whose land lay deeper in the forest, to succeed in his undertaking, however great his capital might be. Some thirty new grants were made down to the year 1852, and many of these were in the Eastern Khulna and Bakarganj Sundarbans, as some partial surveys were made in that region.

To most persons the mention of the Sundarbans recalls to mind two places, Port Canning and Morrellganj. The latter is the earlier town. Some squatters had made a clearing in the forest there about the year 1840, but no further progress was made till Messrs. R. and T. H. Morrell bought three large blocks of land there in 1849. They began clearing the ground very fast, and their undertaking was greatly facilitated by the advantages the land possessed, in being well raised and having excellent river frontages with plenty of fresh water. At the north-east corner, on the bank of the main river, and where two other rivers join it, they built a town which they called Morrellganj after themselves. They established a mart, which soon became the most important in that part of the country. They also built a good brick house for themselves; and a police station, a sub-registration office and a dispensary were soon located there. The estate passed out of their hands many years ago. Morrellganj now occupies less prominent attention than formerly, but is still a prosperous town.

The Grant Rules of 1830 had not been as successful as had been hoped. The grantees complained that the terms

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were too strict, and their objection had been practically admitted, inasmuch as the stringency of the terms had been relaxed freely in individual cases. On the other hand it was necessary to see that the concessions granted by Government were not abused, that is, that the lands were taken by *bonâ fide* reclaimers. The rules were accordingly modified and were re-published in September 1853. Grants were to be made for 99 years, and were sold to the highest bidder if there was competition; the revenue assessed on them was reduced to about 6 annas per acre; and even this full rate (low as it was) did not become payable till the 51st year, after a long and very gradual enhancement commencing from the 21st year. But reclamation was more carefully provided for, and the grantee was required to have one-eighth of his grant fit for cultivation in five years, one-fourth in ten, one-half in twenty, and practically the whole in 30 years, under pain of forfeiture. The earlier grantees were allowed the option of giving up their old leases and taking fresh leases under the new rules. This boon was highly appreciated, and about seventy of the earlier grantees accepted it and commuted their leases.

These rules gave a fresh stimulus to Sundarban enterprise. The new conditions as to clearing being much easier than the old, there was less occasion for indulgence; but even these conditions were not complied with, and during the following ten years about seventy grants fell in through forfeiture; and from these and other lands about ninety fresh grants were made. Still it has been far from the policy or practice of Government to press these conditions harshly, and if a grantee has exerted himself and yet failed through calamities or other causes beyond his control, either forfeiture has been waived, or he has been allowed a further time to satisfy the condition.

There was no difficulty during those years in granting out lands throughout the Sundarbans and even in Bakarganj, for surveyors had been employed continuously from the year 1840, and had made partial surveys of all the accessible lands; besides which, all such lands in Khulna and Bakarganj were surveyed and mapped out by the Revenue Survey during the years 1857 to 1863.

A few years later, or just after the Mutiny, two proposals were brought before the public for the disposal of waste lands generally; one was to sell them out-and-out exempt from land revenue, and the second to allow land-owners to redeem their existing land revenue by paying it off once for all by one capitalized sum. These measures were generally advocated with the object of promoting the settlement of Europeans in India; and after much discussion rules, called the Waste Land Rules, were promulgated in October

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1863 to carry out these views. Some thirteen lots were sold under these rules in 1865 and 1866, but many of the purchasers were indifferent, or were unable to complete the purchase money during the ten years allowed for the payment by instalments, and eight of those lots came back to Government in subsequent years. The rules for the redemption of the land revenue, however, met with more success, and were taken advantage of in some twenty lots.

The granting out of lands had been stopped meanwhile; but the new measures were found fault with on the grounds, that the upset price was excessive, and that only capitalists could take advantage of them. Applicants for land therefore preferred the Grant Rules of 1853, and wished to go back to them, but no definite course was chosen, for Mr. F. Schiller's great scheme of Sundarban reclamation was then before the public. He and eight other gentlemen, European and Native, applied to Government in January 1865 to purchase all the remaining ungranted waste lands, proposing to raise a capital of not less than one million sterling, and to reclaim the lands by means of labour imported from China, Madras, Zanzibar and other places. The Government was prepared to allow this ambitious scheme, but declined to encourage any intention to import labour from Africa. Mr. Schiller then attempted to start the Company with a capital of nearly two millions, and continued his efforts for three years; but the public could not be induced to join; so much money had been lost in Sundarban enterprises, that people had grown cautious. His efforts proved unsuccessful, and the scheme at length fell through in August 1868; indeed, at that time, the Port Canning scheme was competing for the support of the public.

About the year 1853 the idea was started of making a subsidiary port to Calcutta on the river Matla. The river was surveyed at once; and Government bought up lot 54, which is at the head of the river on the west side, with an area of about 8,260 acres for Rs. 11,000, for the purpose of constructing a ship canal and railway to connect that river with the Hooghly. At that time the lot was only partially cleared along the river frontage; and this portion was surveyed for six miles, and marked out into roads and 'lots' for the construction of the new town and port in 1855, and a site was chosen for the railway station. Measures were also taken at once to clear the remainder of the lot and people it with raiyats. This was a tedious and expensive undertaking, and seems to have occupied about seven years.

The establishment of the port was begun about 1858 and it was called Port Canning. The lands on the river bank were the town lots, and all the rest remained agricuitural lands. The

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leasehold right in the town lots was sold at public auction for a term of sixty years, and was largely bought up. Some success attended the scheme, and in 1862 the Port Canning Municipality was formed and formally obtained from the Government its property in the town lands. Attempts were made to raise public loans for the improvement of the town and port, but they were not attended with success. In connexion with this scheme a Company was started called the "Port Canning Land Investment, Reclamation and Dock Company, Limited," for the purpose of purchasing and reclaiming the waste lands on the river Matla. The Company bought seven lots, and held ten others in grant; and it contributed largely to a debenture loan that the Municipality succeeded in raising in 1865. But that body needed more money the next year, and Government lent it four and a half lakhs without interest for five years, the Government retaining the port dues in its own hands. Enough seems to have been done to make the port a success if success were attainable. A railway was constructed between Calcutta and Port Canning. Wharves were built and placed in connexion with the railway. But the scheme of a subsidiary port seems to have been unsuited to the commercial interests of Calcutta, and it failed. The Municipality fell into hopeless pecuniary difficulties, which at length brought it into costly litigation with the Port Canning Company and with Government. The final result was that many of the lease-holders of the town lots, who held large quantities of the Municipality's debentures, commuted their debentures for the free-hold right in their lots; and the Government bought up the whole of the property of the Municipality in the Civil Court, and has since paid off all the other debenture-holders.

Port Canning now wears an appearance of stagnation. No shipping visits the port. Fire-wood and other articles are carried by the railway to Calcutta, but the line does not convey the produce that is brought by country-boats from Eastern Bengal round through the Sundarbans; this is conveyed by boats into Calcutta. A mill is the only place in the town that displays any signs of industry. What the expense incurred in the scheme was it is impossible to say. The Government spent at least six lakhs; I do not know what income it received, but the amount can scarcely have been comparable with the expenditure. How private persons were affected is still less within conjecture, but their losses are commonly reported to have been very heavy.

At the same period that the Port Canning scheme was set on foot, other measures were taken to improve the navigation and trade in the Sundarbans. There are at present two alternative routes for boats between Calcutta and Eastern Bengal,

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and two routes have existed more or less during the past. One is an inner route, running through the cultivated tracts; and the other is a more southerly one, and passes in places through the forest. The latter is very largely used in the cold season, when the weather is ordinarily calm and there is no fear of storms or floods. The inner route is generally resorted to in the hot season and rains to avoid the risks of the other route; but in places it is narrow, and the block is occasionally so great among the boats meeting from both directions that, as the boatmen endeavour to get their own boats on as fast as possible and no proper order is enforced, the boats become jammed, and much time and temper are lost before they can emerge on their way. The block is especially trying when one of the immense tubs, which are the approved fashion of boat built by the people in some parts of the country, sticks in the mud at ebb-tide, and all efforts to move it are hopeless till the next flood-tide.

Navigation, however, must have been in a very unsatisfactory state about forty years ago. There was no continous towing path from Calcutta to Khulna; boats sank in the channels and were a constant cause of obstruction and danger; and the channels silted up, especially at the points where the tide flowing from opposite directions met. A careful inquiry was made in 1853, and these defects were remedied and other improvements were introduced. The towing path is an indispensable requisite; boats can be rowed as long as the flood or ebb-tide will carry them in the direction they wish to go, but if there is no wind to help them on, it is wasted labour for the boatmen to attempt to row any except the smallest boats against stream; it is then they can tow, and the towing path is absolutely necessary to prevent the boats being detained till the tide becomes favourable again. For a few years an officer with magisterial powers was stationed half-way between Calcutta and Khulna to superintend the navigation. At present all these matters are, I believe, cared for by the Public Works Department.

These routes are too small, except in a few places, for the large steamers that ply between Calcutta and Eastern Bengal; they take a route much further to the south, which passes for the most part through dense forest.

Besides the schemes that have been already mentioned was a suggestion that a mart should be established on the river Baleswar or Bishkhali, as a port for the trade of East Bengal, independent of Calcutta. Both rivers were surveyed, but only the Baleswar was found favourable for small vessels. The scheme was talked about for some years, but ultimately came to nothing; indeed, the failure of the Port Canning

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scheme indicates how mistaken many of the projects started at that time were.

I have already mentioned the proposal that was suggested about 1810 to clear Saugor Island, in order to benefit the navigation of the Hooghly. Two persons tried in turn but failed, and many persons applied for grants in the island, but it appeared they had no real thought of clearing the land and only wanted to secure a nominal property that might eventually become valuable. The island was surveyed by Lieutenant Blane in 1813-14, and its area was computed at about 145,550 acres. The Collector of the 24-Parganas, Mr. Trower, began clearing in a central portion, which has been named after him Trower-land; but he found that cultivation could be undertaken better by private persons, and convened a meeting of merchants and others in Calcutta in 1818. The result was that a Company was started, called the Saugor Island Society, with a capital of two and a half lakhs, in 1819. The Government granted the island to the Company in perpetuity, the first 30 years being free of rent, with various stipulations as to clearing and other matters, failure in which would entail forfeiture. The management was in the hands of 13 trustees, a number which to the superstitious will seem to have prophesied misfortune from the beginning. The Society began energetically, and very satisfactory progress was made in the four northern portions called Mud Point, Ferintosh, Trowerland and Shikarpur, and in a portion at the extreme south called Dhobelát, until May 1833, when the great gale and inundation occurred, which destroyed almost everything and compelled the Society to throw up the scheme in despair.

Four gentlemen then, Messrs. Hare, Macpherson, Hunter and Campbell, bought the four northern portions and carried on the undertaking. Government also conferred on them the privilege of making salt, from which, and the rice cultivation combined, they reaped a lucrative return. The island continued in fair prosperity, although storms occurred in June 1842, October 1848 and June 1852; and the rent-free term was extended to 1863. In that year those four portions were found more or less cleared, and cultivation was also found in Dhobelát and another portion; all the rest of the island was jungle except the spot occupied by the light-house. The settlement of these lands was under discussion, till everything was changed by the cyclone and storm-wave of 5th October 1864, which swept over the island with full force and wrought great havoc. On the 1st and 2nd November 1867 occurred another storm and high tide which threw the island still further back.

These calamities compelled attention to the necessity of providing means of safety, and especially safety for human

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life; the embankments that had been erected had not been a sufficient protection. After much discussion it was at last settled that in each estate in the island, a central place of refuge should be constructed, consisting of a tank surrounded by an embankment 16½ feet high; that no habitation should ordinarily be built more than a mile from the place of refuge, and that embanked paths should be made connecting the place of refuge with the habitations. Subject to these and minor conditions, the cultivated lands in the five estates I have mentioned were granted out free of rent in perpetuity in 1875. The places of refuge have been constructed and are subject to annual inspection. Since then, however, there have been no cyclone-waves to test the efficacy of the arrangements, though the people expected one in 1883 because the Bengali year ended in a 'nought'!

At the south of Saugor Island, in a little creek off the sea, is held in January the annual festival of bathing in the Ganges at its junction with the sea. It is largely attended by both men and women, but the festival is decaying, unless excursion steamers should resuscitate it as a pleasure trip; and the numbers who attend it are far below the estimate often made. I doubt if the number exceeds 5,000, though it is popularly stated to be something like ten times as many. The festival is held on a small piece of sandy ground, mat booths are run up in rows, and fakirs and hawkers combine religion and trade in their respective callings. It can be readily perceived that in such circumstances, sanitary arrangements are but nominal, and, though the festival lasts but a few days, the pilgrims are liable to be attacked by cholera, or to carry its germs away with them.

Of late years reclamation has made little progress except in Bakarganj, where almost all the lands are more or less cultivated, but great loss of life and damage were inflicted by the cyclone-wave of 1st November 1876 on the lands at the extreme east. The forest in the 24-Parganas and Khulna is now under the Forest Department: that in the former district is 'protected,' and that in Khulna is 'reserved.' Wood-cutters are allowed to ply their business in the protected forest under passes from the Department, and careful watch is kept over them by toll-stations established at all the important water-passages into the forest. Everything in Bakarganj is free. They bring away timber and fire-wood, *gol pátá* leaves for thatching, and reed for matting. Shells, canes and other articles are also obtained from the forest.

The wood-cutters go down in boats suited to the cargo they intend to fetch, and before beginning their work, generally propitiate the forest divinities through fakirs in order

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to obtain immunity from wild animals. Some fakirs have a great reputation. The chief local divinities are the Boy Saint (*Sawál Pir*) and the Forest Lady (*Ban Bibi*); both seem from their names to be of Mohammedan origin, but they are worshipped by both Mohammedans and Hindus, and their shrines are often marked by nothing more than a bamboo with a flag at the top. These men can get near places, where they intend to cut timber, by means of the khals that penetrate everywhere. It is difficult to wander far through the forest in the west, as the ground is low and swampy, but there is no hindrance in Bakarganj except for the khals. Perhaps the greatest advantage the wood-cutters enjoy is, that the forest has little undergrowth, and they can keep a look-out for some distance around. The báwális, or regular wood-cutters, are very poor and must venture their lives to gain their living; as they graphically express it, their choice lies between starvation and risking themselves against the tigers. Raiyats, however, from Jessore, Khulna and Bakarganj often undertake expeditions to the forest when they have no pressing work at home; and much of the rice crop is also reaped by such men, when the Sundarban cultivators are unable to gather it in unaided.

There is plenty of sport in the Sundarbans, though it is not to be had easily. Tigers, deer and wild pig abound everywhere, and especially on the confines of cultivation. Deer are especially destructive in November and December when the rice has grown, but has not reached maturity. The wild pig are always at hand to dig up the ground for whatever they can find. The tigers stalk the deer and the pigs, and will swim broad streams in their search for prey. Buffaloes are found in the eastern parts, and rhinoceroses in the depths of the forest near the sea coast. Abandoned clearances, where grass has grown up, are excellent places for finding deer, which may be seen browsing there at all times of the day. Such places are better and more numerous in Bakarganj than in the west, for when land is abandoned in the west, a kind of wild palm, called *hetál*, and low scrub or reed spring up and thrive more readily than grass; but in lands that are much impregnated with salt, little will grow besides a low reddish succulent herb, and the jhau, which is like a casuarina. In the east, the land being high, grass grows readily, and will maintain its position for years before it is ultimately extinguished by the encroachment of the forest. Such spots are very plentiful in the lands near the sea coast in the extreme east, which have been reclaimed and abandoned by the Magh settlers; and they generally possess deserted tanks which contain fairly fresh water, and are visited nightly by wild animals.

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Maghs from Chittagong and Arakan have been settled on the coast lands at the extreme east for at least sixty years, and have carried with them their inveterate practice of "jhooming," that is, they settle on a spot of forest, cut down the trees, and cultivate the soil for a few years; and then move off to a new spot and repeat the process. But the difficulties and disadvantages of Sundarban cultivation have compelled them to stay longer in one place than their old practice was. Newly cleared ground is full of the stumps and roots of the trees and cannot be ploughed; the seed must be scattered broadcast till the stumps and roots decay. The sundri tree has the peculiarity of sending up from its roots small prongs or spits, a foot or more in height, which are sometimes so thickly placed as to leave little room for walking. The first crops are, of course, poor, as the soil is more or less impregnated with salt, and it needs some years' cultivation to eradicated the salt. Their unsettled habits render the Maghs excellent pioneers, but most troublesome raiyats. If lands cleared by Maghs can be peopled with Hindu or Mohammedan raiyats, they may be considered as well settled as possible, but these classes strongly dislike what they consider the filthy habits of the Maghs, who build their houses on piles from 3 to 5 feet high, and keep their dogs, poultry and refuse in the space beneath. The results are certainly most insanitary; yet they may perhaps furnish the geologists of a future age with as much interest and information as the "kitchen middens" of Denmark.

All the shooting must be done on foot. Elephants cannot be had unless conveyed there at an expense which is prohibitive. It is not of much use to seek the tiger or deer on foot, even on solid ground, for they would hear or see one long before one could get at them; and with tigers, it has sometimes happened that, while the sportsman imagined he was following up the tiger, the tiger was stalking him. Deer may be found in the evening or early morning in most of the open spots, and they are very bold when the rice is ripening. In the deserted clearances, where they are little disturbed, they may be seen all day long. The local shikaris are far from adepts in their profession. In some parts they have little pits a foot or two deep in the open spots, and sit in these at night to shoot the deer. The tigers are seldom disturbed unless they are troublesome, and the readiest way to get them is to sit up over a 'kill,' or lie in wait for them near their haunts; yet, in one of the cleared spots where a pair had established themselves, I saw them walking about in the open in broad day-light. Near Morrellganj the people sometimes settle a troublesome tiger by hemming him in with nets and

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driving him into them ; though he can leap a long distance, he cannot, they say, spring over a net seven feet high. I have never seen wild buffaloes, though their tracks around deserted tanks, where they go at night to drink, are common enough.

An officer's duty in the Sundarbans is a mixture of sedentary life, rough out-door work, and jungle wandering. It consists in surveying, settling and leasing out lands of every description, from the most thoroughly cleared estates to the wildest forest, during the cold season ; and while travelling from one place to another, days may be spent in the confinement of a boat. Much of the work must be done with a gun in one hand, and every one who has served there has no doubt tales to tell of the risks he has run. The drawbacks are many and obvious ; yet there are fair opportunities for sport, and living so entirely among the isolated people, to whom the slightest medical attention is a great boon, for months together, with so few of the usual official accompaniments one may learn very much of their ways and language, and more perhaps may be learnt of the rise and growth of the land system of Bengal in the conditions, both crude and highly developed, which are found in the Sundarbans, than in the ordinary districts where the changes that have been at work have been almost hidden from notice by the Permanent Settlement.

F. E. PARGITER.

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ART. VI.—INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.—II.*

PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

A.—EXECUTIVE COUNCILS.

ONLY the Governments of Madras and Bombay have such Councils. In Provinces administered by Lieutenant-Governors or Chief Commissioners, they alone constitute the Government, the Secretaries being merely their mouth-piece.

By section 21 of 33 Geo. III. c. 52, the whole civil and military Government of each of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay were vested in a Governor and three counsellors. † Section 32 of the same statute authorized the Court of Directors to appoint the Commander-in-Chief also to be a member of the said Councils, and when so appointed, he was to have rank and precedence at the Council Board next to the Governor. By section 29 of 21 and 22 Vic., c. 106, members of Governor's Councils were to be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, but this provision was in 1869 superseded by 32 and 33 Vic. c. 97, which provides (sec. 8) that they shall be appointed by Her Majesty by warrant under Her Royal Sign Manual. It is not quite clear whether the condition of twelve years service in India, imposed by 33 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 25, is still in force.

By sec. 56 of 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, it was enacted that the executive Government of each of the several Presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, Bombay and Agra ‡ should be administered by a Governor and three councillors. † Sec. 57 gave the Court of Directors power to revoke and suspend the appointment of Councils in any Presidency, or to reduce the number of Councillors. This power was exercised in 1833, when the Court of Directors directed that the Governments of Madras and Bombay were to consist of a Governor and a Council, the Council to consist of two members being civil servants, with the addition of the Commander-in-Chief, when the Court should appoint him to a seat in Council, otherwise of two civil servants alone.

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* Continued from No. CLXXVII for July 1889 p. 164

† I adopt the spelling as I find it in the original statutes.

‡ It was enacted by sec. 38 of 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, that the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal should be divided into two distinct Presidencies, one to be styled the Presidency of Agra; but the provision was never brought into operation. Its operation was suspended by 5 and 6 Will. IV., c. 52, and the suspension was continued by 16 and 17 Vic. c. 5, s. 15.

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Meetings of the Executive Councils are called ordinary meetings. The Governors of Madras and Bombay may make rules and orders for the conduct of business in their councils, and any order made, or act done in accordance with such directions, shall be deemed to be the order or act of the Governor in Council *

In the absence of the Governor, the senior Civil ordinary member of Council presides. It would appear † that at ordinary meetings, the Governor has not got a casting vote ; but Governors, like the Governor General, may override their councils when any measure is proposed whereby the safety, tranquillity, or interests of India, or any native State are, or may be, in the judgment of the Governor, essentially affected, and he is of opinion either that the measure proposed ought to be adopted and carried into execution, or that it ought to be suspended or rejected. ‡

There seems to be no specific rule as to what constitutes a

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* 24 and 25 Vic. c. 67, s. 28. † id. s. 34.

‡ 33 Geo., III, c. 52, s. 47. The powers given by this section are, as to the Governor-General in Council, practically superseded by 33 Vic., c. 3, s. 5. The origin of this power will be found in Sir John Kaye's "Lives of Indian Officers." "Lord Cornwallis had always believed that, unless large powers were vested in him, he could render no service to his country. He desired to hold in his own hands both the supreme civil and the supreme military authority ; and seeing that, if thwarted, as Hastings had been by a factious opposition in the Council, he would have no real power of any kind, he declared it to be an essential condition of his acceptance of the office, that he should be empowered, on great occasions, to act upon his own responsibility, against the votes of the majority of the Council. To these conditions Pitt and Dundas readily consented. . . . . The King's Ministers kept their promise, and prepared at once to bring in a supplementary Act of Parliament, explaining or amending the objectionable clauses in the India Bill of 1784. It was certain that it would be opposed. The party who saw, or pretended to see, only a constitutional safeguard in such opposition as that with which Francis and Clavering had held in restraint the independent action of Governor-General Hastings, were alarmed and indignant at the thought of placing such large powers in the hands of a single man. It was to establish a gigantic despotism. So against this measure Edmund Burke lifted up his voice, declaring that it contemplated the introduction of an arbitrary and despotic Government into India, on the false pretence of its tending to increase the security of our British Indian possessions, and to give fresh vigour, energy, and promptitude to the conduct of business, where before had been only weakness, decrepitude, and delay. To this Dundas replied in a convincing speech, which must have touched, in a sensitive place, Philip Francis, who had endeavoured to introduce a Bill of his own—that arbitrary and despotic power might result from the action of two or three no less than from the action of one ; and that it was certain that all the mischief and misfortune that had for many years afflicted India, had arisen from the existence of party feelings and factious behaviour among the different Members of Council. The Bill was passed by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament."—*Life of Cornwallis*, pp. 51—54.

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quorum for a meeting of a Governor's Executive Council, though the absence of the Governor is provided for. But if any member is by any infirmity or otherwise incapable of attending a meeting, a temporary member may be appointed to take his place, receiving half his own salary and half the salary of a member of Council. *

The salary of a member of a Governor's Council is Rs. 61,440 ; it used to be 60,000 sicca rupees.

Lieutenant-Governors versus *Governors in Council.*

The respective merits of a Lieutenant-Governor or of a Governor in Council for Local Administrations has sometimes formed the subject of discussion. If any change be made in the existing state of things, it is more probable that the important Province of Bengal will be given a Governor and Council, than that the old established Presidencies of Madras and Bombay will be reduced to Lieutenant-Governorships. There are strong reasons for and against giving Bengal a Governor and Executive Council, and I will merely state the *pros* and *cons* as succinctly as possible, leaving the reader to form his own opinion :—

Pros

1. The presence of the Government of India in Calcutta for four months in the year materially weakens the position and authority of the Local Government. If Bengal had a Governor in Council, it would not be necessary for the Government of India to visit Calcutta, except occasionally, in a peripatetic manner, as it might visit Madras, Bombay, Lahore, Delhi, or Benares. The Supreme Government would thus have far greater opportunities of being brought into " touch " with all parts of the Empire.
2. A Lieutenant-Governor occupies a position somewhere between a Governor in Council and the more modern Chief Commissioner : whether he approximates to the more or less independent position, depends on the personal views entertained in the Administrative (Home) Department of the Government of India. It is perhaps inadvisable that, in the consulship of a Gallio, there should be virtually no appeal from an autocratic Lieutenant-Governor, while the next lustrum may see him reduced to the status of a Chief Commissioner by the *perfervidum ingenium* of a Home Secretary.

* Sec, 33 Geo. III. c. 52, s. 34 ; 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, s. 64 ; 24 and 25 Vic. c. 67, s. 27.

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3. Having regard to the powerful and often conflicting interests which have to be dealt with in Bengal, and to the way in which the educated classes, both European and native, are able to put pressure on the Government, it is very necessary that that Government should be so constituted as to carry with it the maximum of weight, prestige, and authority. Some of the reasons which have been enumerated above, as reasons in favour of confiding very important legislation affecting Bengal to the Supreme Legislature, are also reasons for giving Bengal a Governor and Council; for instance, the complex problems which arise in Bengal, and the fact that almost all questions have two sides.
4. A Governor in Council will not only have more weight with the public, but he will have more weight with the Government of India. He will be better able to obtain full consideration and justice for the needs of Bengal. The City of Bombay owes much to its having been under a Governor and Council.
5. The creation of Bengal into a Governship will relieve the Government of India, which is becoming overworked. The concession of comparative independence to Bengal will considerably contract the sphere of the duties of the Government of India.
6. It will at the same time relieve the Lieutenant-Governor. He can make over certain departments almost entirely to his members of Council.
7. A Governor in Council is more likely to be a strong and courageous government, especially in a province like Bengal, than a Lieutenant-Govenor who rules singly and entirely on his own responsibility.
8. Business is less likely to be delayed by the tours of a Governor, as his Council would remain in Calcutta.

Cons

1. If Councillors are strong, Secretaries become mere clerks or subordinates. If they are weak or indifferent, the Secretaries are everything, and the Council adds little or nothing to the working power of the Government.
2. The privilege of direct correspondence with the Secretary of State is not likely to promote harmonious subordination to the Government of India. But, of course, it is not indispensable that a Governor in Council should enjoy such privilege.
3. The creation of Bengal into a governorship would

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lessen the authority of the Governor-General over a province which is, in some respects, the most important in India. Many are of opinion that the authority of the Government of India over Local Governments requires to be strengthened, and not weakened; that local administrations should not be coverted into so many loosely confederate States.

4. The Government of India would have less financial control over a Governor in Council.
5. An Executive Council would often act as a drag on the wheels of Government. A Lieutenant-Governor could act with more promptness and vigour.
6. The Lieutenant-Governor must be a civilian of experience and proved ability. Such a man, unlike the English statesman who is generally appointed Governor of Madras or Bombay, is in little need of a Council, as he is thoroughly conversant with the details of the administration. What advice he requires can be readily obtained from his Secretaries.
7. As to the relief which a Council would give to an over-worked Lieutenant-Governor, this may be better effected by forming Behar and Orissa (with the Gurjhat Mehals and Sumbulpore) into Chief Commissionerships. Relief was given in this way in 1874 by separating Assam from Bengal.
8. As a matter of fact the Lieutenant-Governor has Councillors in his Secretaries, who are always consulted. The Secretaries might be called Ministers, and the Chief Secretary might be put on the footing of a Colonial Secretary.

Perhaps the matter may be summed up by saying that a Council would be no help to, and might hamper an exceptionally firm and able Lieutenant-Governor; while it would be a distinct aid and source of strength to a ruler of less courage and decision. The question is one on which it is not easy to form a decided opinion; each man would probably decide it according to his own temperament. Perhaps most readers will think that the *pros* enumerated above are of greater weight than the *cons*. It has been said that the Board of Revenue is a sort of Council to the Lieutenant-Governor. But the element of responsibility is absent, and, as a matter of fact, the Board did not prevent an administrative collapse at the time of the Orissa famine.

B. Provincial Legislative Councils.

These are regulated by the provisions of the "Indian Councils Act, 1861" (24 and 25 Vic., c. 67.) This Act is perhaps the

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most important part of the Indian Constitution; and if Local Governments would more freely and boldly make use of the extensive powers which the Act gives them, we should hear less of the ever-increasing difficulties of administration. But, extensive as these powers are, there are not a few dangers which the barque of a Local Council has cautiously to steer clear of, so as not to strike on the rock of *ultra vires*. I shall allude to these further on.

The constitution of the Legislative Council had been revised in 1853, and the Act of 1861 brought the labours of that body to an end. One of the principal objects of the Act was to restore to the Councils of the subordinate Presidencies the power of legislation, which had been taken away from them by the Act of 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, and to establish new local legislatures in other parts of India. The legislative powers of the Government of India were left unimpaired, but under the new Act were to be chiefly exercised in matters of general administration and such as affect India as a whole. Perhaps the most important feature of the Act is that it provides, for the first time, for the admission of Europeans, independent of the Government, and of natives of India, to take part in the important work of legislating for India.

Constitution of Councils.

The Legislative Councils of the Governors of Madras and Bombay respectively consist of the ordinary members of Council, the Advocate General of the Presidency, and not less than four nor more than eight additional members, as the Governor may think fit to nominate;* provided that not less than one-half of the persons so nominated shall be non-official persons. Additional members are appointed for two years. If any such member dies, accepts office under the Crown, or resigns, the Governor may appoint another person until the termination of the term for which the original member was appointed, provided that the proportion of non-official members must not be diminished.† If the Governor be absent, the senior civil ordinary member of Council presides. Five members are required for a quorum at a legislative meeting, and the Governor or some ordinary member of Council must be one. In the case of a difference of opinion and an equality of votes, the President has two votes or the casting vote.‡ The Governor may make rules for the conduct of business at legislative meetings, subject to the sanction of the Governor-General in Council. No business can be

* 24 and 25 Vic., c. 67, s. 29. | † *id.*. ss. 30, 32. | ‡ *id.* s. 34.

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transacted at a legislative meeting other than the consideration and enactment of measures introduced for the purpose of such enactment, or the alteration of rules for the conduct of business at legislative meetings.*

The above rules in the Statute relate to the Madras and Bombay Councils, but sections 46, 47 give the Governor-General power to constitute new Provinces, and alter their limits for the purposes of the Act; and section 48 provides that all such rules shall apply to laws to be made by any Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

Extent of Legislative Power.†

The Governors of Madras and Bombay in Council have power to make laws for the peace and good government of their respective territories. A Local Legislature can repeal or amend any law made by the Governor-General in Council or by a Local Government before the date of the passing of the Indian Councils Act, but cannot repeal or amend any law passed by the Governor-General in Council since that date, or any Act of Parliament.

The said Governors in Council may not, except with the sanction of the Governor-General previously communicated to them, make or take into consideration any law :—

(1). Affecting the public debt of India, or the customs duties, or any other tax or duty now in force and imposed by the authority of the Government of India, for the general purposes of such Government :

(2). Regulating any of the current coin, or the issue of any bills, notes, or other paper currency :

(3). Regulating the conveyance of letters by the post office, or messages by the electric telegraph within the Presidency :

(4). Altering in any way the Penal Code of India :

(5). Affecting the religion or the religious rites and usages of any class of Her Majesty's subjects in India :

(6). Affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of Her Majesty's military or naval forces :

(7). Regulating patents or copyright :

(8). Affecting the relations of the Government with foreign Princes or States.

Provided always, that no law or provision of any law made by any such Governor in Council, and assented to by the Governor-General as aforesaid, shall be deemed invalid only by by reason of its relating to any of the above purposes.

With reference to the fourth clause above, there is a rule by

* 24 and 25 Vic., c. 67, s. 38. | † *id.* ss. 42, 43.

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which Bills of Local Councils, containing penal clauses, must be submitted to the Governor-General for previous sanction. This rule seems to go beyond the law. Almost every Act must contain penal clauses, which need not alter, though they may add to, the existing body of penal law. I believe the rule is not always strictly enforced.

Assent to, and Force of Laws.

When any law has been made at a legislative meeting, the Governor † may, whether he was or was not present in Council at such meeting, declare that he assents to, or withholds his assent from the same. He is to transmit forthwith to the Governor-General an authentic copy of every law to which he assents, and no such law shall have validity until the Governor-General has assented thereto. If the Governor-General withholds his assent, he must signify his reason in writing to the Governor. If the Governor-General assents to the law, he must transmit to the Secretary of State an authentic copy thereof, and Her Majesty may signify, through the Secretary of State, her disallowance of such law, and such disallowance shall make void such law from or after the day on which the Governor shall make known by proclamation, or by signification to the Council, that he has received the notification of such disallowance by Her Majesty.

It will be seen from sec. 40 of the Act, that the assent required is that of the Governor-General personally, and not of the Governor-General in Council. Assent has been refused on the ground that the principle or policy of the Act is unsound, or contrary to the avowed policy of the Government of India; that the Act, or some portion of it, is *ultra vires* of the Local Legislature; that it is so defective in drafting or form as to be likely to lead to confusion or misconstruction. The more recent practice has been not to notice defects of drafting.

When an Act, or some portion of it, is *ultra vires*, the expedient of passing a conferring or enabling Act in the Governor General's Council has sometimes been resorted to. The most recent instance is Act XII. of 1888, which had to be passed to legalize and give effect to those portions of the Calcutta and Bombay Municipal Acts, which oust in certain matters the jurisdiction of the High Courts. So an Act (XXI of 1882) had to be passed to confirm the Madras Forest Act, some of the provisions of which were inconsonant with the provisions of the Indian Forest Act (VII. of 1878). This

* 24 and 25 Vic. c. 67, ss. 39—41.

† The word 'Governor' must be read as including 'Lieutenant-Governor' in those Provinces where Legislative Councils have been established.

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is a somewhat clumsy *modus procedendi*, and due to the desire to, so to speak, give as much "rope" as possible to the Local Councils. The Government of India recognize that their sphere of operations is becoming more and more restricted and circumscribed by the numerous Acts passed in the Supreme Council since 1861, and that it is consequently very difficult for a Local Legislature to pass an Act, which is quite free from constitutional objections. Not a few Acts of importance have been vetoed from time to time on the ground of their being *ultra vires*. In 1872 the Bengal Excise Consolidation Act was vetoed for curtailing the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court and the Court of Small Causes, and for contravening sec. 10 of the Indian Contract Act, 1872. The Bengal Court of Wards Act, 1877, was vetoed for contravening the Code of Civil Procedure. The difficulties, with which the path of a Legislative Council is beset, will be discussed below.

The Sphere, Functions, and Position of Local Legislative Councils.

After the passing of the "Indian Councils Act," Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, wrote as follows:—

"It is advisable that the several Legislative Councils should undertake, as far as possible, the necessary legislative business for the territories under their respective jurisdictions. The circumstances of different parts of India are widely different, and may, even under the same general head of administration, require widely different measures of a practical character; and it will be no ground for condemning a measure on any particular subject passed for one Presidency, that it differs, in some respects, from another measure on the same subject for another Presidency. There will, however, always remain some important subjects to which, for the most part, general legislation alone is applicable, and which should be reserved to be dealt with by the Council of the Governor-General. Such are the subjects specified in section 43 of the Act. If, however, it should appear to the Governor-General more expedient that enactments on any of those subjects, so far as regards any Presidency or Lieutenant-Governorship, may be more conveniently passed by the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor in Council, legislation in regard to those subjects by the Local Legislature, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General, is permitted by the terms of the section.

"There is nothing in the terms of the section, or in any other part of the Act, which takes away from the Council of the Governor-General the power of legislation in regard to all matters whatsoever connected with any part of Her Majesty's dominions in India, and it is possible that there may be other subjects than

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those enumerated, which may be considered as properly coming within the cognizance of the highest legislative authority. The division of legislative measures into two classes will not be difficult, and, as a general rule, the Supreme Legislature should as little interfere with matters of local administration, as a Local Legislature should be permitted to interfere with those matters of general administration which are reserved to be dealt with by the Council of the Governor-General."

It was evidently intended, then, that the sphere of Local Councils should be very extensive, but certain causes have operated to curtail it :—

1. Much greater control is given to the Governor-General over the exercise of the power of legislation than was the case before the passing of the Act 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85.
2. The rules for the conduct of business at meetings of the Councils are to be submitted for the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, (s.37.)
3. No law is to have validity until sanctioned by the Governor-General. (s.40).
4. A Local Legislature cannot repeal or amend any law passed by the Governor-General in Council since the date of the Indian Councils Act.
5. A Local Legislature cannot repeal or amend any Act of Parliament.
6. It cannot, without the previous consent of the Govenor-General, legislate on any of the subjects specified in s. 43 of the Indian Councils Act. *
7. It cannot take away any of the jurisdictions conferred on a High Court by the High Courts Act or by Letters Patent.

This is a formidable list of restrictions, but the fourth is more formidable than all the others put together, and is becoming more and more so by the simple operation of time. The functions of Local Legislatures are necessarily narrowed as more and more subjects come under the process of consolidation by the Supreme Council. In fact, as time goes on, and the bulk and range of Supreme Council Legislation increase, Othello's occupation bids fair to disappear altogether, and the power of legislation will be a monopoly of the Indian Legislature. This is a matter for regret. The circumstances and conditions of different provinces vary to such an extent, that they require different laws. There are those who think that excessive uniformity of legislation constitutes a danger to the Empire ; rather it is desirable to make each province,

* See page 308 *supra*.

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so to speak, a separate water-tight bulk-head, so that any particular legislative failure or administrative collapse may affect a limited area only, and not the whole peninsula from Peshawur to Burmah, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Probably the soundest watchword would be "uniformity in imperial, diversity in parochial matters." Lord Macaulay's maxim was: Uniformity where you can have it: diversity if you must have it, but in all cases certainty." The question, then, of enlarging the powers of Local Councils is one of great importance. They may be enlarged in two ways:—

1. By giving them the same powers, as regards the High Courts, as are possessed by the Indian Legislative Council.
2. By permitting them to alter or amend Acts of the Indian Legislature passed subsequent to 1861.

If the second power were made contingent on obtaining the previous sanction of the Governor-General, it would merely be an extension of the principle contained in sec 43 of the Councils Act. The Local Council could not act contrary to the wishes or policy of the Government of India, because its initiation of measures would be under complete check by the Governor-General; at the same time its usefulness, and the sphere of its operations, would be extended.

As to the first power, Local Councils may make laws for the "peace and good government" of the territories for which they legislate. These are wide words, and the constitution and powers of the Courts of Justice within such territories clearly fall within them. The detailed arrangements for the various gradations of Civil Courts must differ in every province, and the matter is peculiarly one for a Provincial Legislature. But a Local Council cannot affect the powers of a High Court over the Mofussil Courts, and so Civil Courts' Acts for various provinces have had to be passed by the Governor-General's Council. For instance, it might be *ultra vires* for a Local Council to remove any revenue matters or proceedings from the jurisdiction of the High Court. There appears to be no sufficient reason why the charters of the High Courts should not be as much subject to Provincial Councils as they are to the Supreme Council. Provincial Councils are now surrounded by many pitfalls, and Parliament should extend to their laws the same protection that it has given to the laws of the Indian Legislature. It is not probable that the Provincial Councils will abuse their extended powers, as they are thoroughly subordinated to the Governor-General and the Crown, and the High Courts are well able to make their voices heard whenever they think the legislature is in error.

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But this is a matter in which a good many factors have to be taken into consideration: there are *cons* as well as *pros*. Avoiding the rôle of an advocate, I wish merely to state the case, to sum up as a judge the points for and against. Let me first enumerate the points in favour of increasing the powers and enlarging the sphere of Provincial Councils:—

1. Different provinces require widely different measures of a practical character. The Government which stays in a province throughout the year is best aware not only of its wants and needs, but of the most appropriate methods of providing remedies, and laws can be better adapted to the special wants of the province.
2. When the Supreme Council legislates for a particular province, there must necessarily be an excessive delegation of legislation; that is, far more must be left to be provided for by executive rules than if the Act were passed by the Local Council. It should be added that some draftsmen think that legislation (especially in India) should leave as much as possible to executive action, merely laying down broad rules and principles, and leaving details to be worked out by the executive administration.
3. The performance of local legislation has a healthy moral and educational effect on the province in which it is performed. It induces the whole community, and more especially the non-official community, both European and native, to take an interest in the framing of the laws under which they are to live, and to study the practical effect of them.
4. The Government of India is already over-worked; the time has probably come for contracting the sphere of its duties. What is hard work for the Legislative Council often means hard work for the Executive Council also.
5. When transmitting, in 1861, a copy of the Councils Act to the Government of India, Sir Charles Wood remarked that the Governor-General would probably find it expedient to extend the provisions of the Act without delay to Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and the Panjab. And yet, after the lapse of 28 years, the Act has not yet been extended to the Panjab, and it has only been in force for two years in the North-West Provinces. The late Sir Henry Maine was of opinion that the

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time of the Supreme Council was too much taken up with the "parish vestry" business of the North-West, the Panjab, and the Chief Commissionerships. Such matters as municipal and local self-Government are eminently matters for Local Councils. The powerful and elaborate machinery of the Supreme Council is wasted in manufacturing provisions for preventing encroachments on roads and petty nuisances, for enforcing sanitation, for digging tanks, for regulating serais, markets, slaughter-houses, and similar parochial matters. The Nasmyth hammer of the Supreme Council should be reserved for crushing imperial problems and hammering out comprehensive measures of codification, applicable to the whole of India.* Almost the whole session of 1887 was taken up with Land Revenue and Tenancy Acts for the Panjab. The Bengal Tenancy Act occupied the whole of a session. This year (1889) the Supreme Council has passed four Acts for the Central Provinces.

6. The Local Government must know best the habits, customs, and idiosyncrasies of the populations over which it rules, and its legislation is more likely, than that of the Supreme Council, to be sympathetic, popular, and in accord with public opinion. This is merely an amplification of the first factor.

7. Local Councils can legislate rapidly.† The importance of rapidity of legislation cannot be overestimated in a country like India, composed of diverse and often hostile races, castes, and religions.‡

8. The Local Government and its principal officers will take a much greater interest in local matters, when they are uncontrolled and unhampered in dealing with them.

It remains to note the considerations which weigh against giving more rope *(sit venia verbo)* to the Local Councils, and

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* What remains to be done for codification was indicated in my article on "Indian Codification" in the *Calcutta Review* for April 1889, No. CLXXVI, pages 377, 378.

† At least they have done so hitherto. But there are signs that this may not continue to be the case.

‡ The amending Act known as "the Ghee Act," had to be rapidly passed in 1887: so also the Emigrants' Sanitation Act during the present year.

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in favour of confiding all important measures of legislation to the Supreme Council :—

1. The Government of India has a trained Legislative Department, which saves it from many errors to which Local Councils are subject, and into which they often fall. It is true that Local Councils include the Advocate-General, but as a matter of fact his presence has not sufficed to steer Local Councils (in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay) clear of errors. An Advocate-General is not necessarily a draftsman or a constitutional lawyer, and (what is far more important) his whole time is not at the disposal of the State. During the present year the Advocate-General of Bengal failed to see that the Calcutta Municipal Act was *ultra vires.*
2. To take the Bengal Council for purposes of concrete comparison : This Council, sitting in Calcutta, is less "strong" and independent than the Supreme Council, spending eight months of the year at Simla. "Strength" is the quality *par excellence* which is indispensable in governing a "congeries gentium."
3. It is less capable of taking a wide and imperial view of matters coming before it. The imperial aspect of administrative measures cannot be overlooked ; but in peaceful Bengal there is danger of "the empire" being sunk in "the parish." In a community of merchants, English barristers, and subtle native lawyer-politicians—a community in which the military element is far too infinitesimal to produce a counteracting effect—a Local Council might be overborne by the demands of a single powerful class ; or it might be too weak to withstand the cry for a political idea, a theoretically perfect law, the practical results of which might be to sacrifice the best interests of the Empire. *Fiat lex* (not *justitia*), *ruat imperium.*
4. As was pointed out by the late Sir Henry Maine, the questions to be dealt with in Bombay and Madras are comparatively uniform and simple. In both Presidencies almost all the land is in the hands of a peasant proprietary. Except in a small part of Madras, the Europeans are collected in the Presidency towns, their interests scarcely ever conflict with those of the natives, and in Bombay the moral gulf between the races is bridged over by the Parsees. Bengal, on the other hand, is the Province of great questions. The problems are

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complex, many-sided, and of extreme difficulty. There is scarcely a single question which has not a European side and a native side, (resulting from the large number of European non-officials in the interior), a proprietor's side and a tenant's side, or which has not to be regarded from the point of view of the educated and progressive section of Bengali society, and again from the point of view of rigid orthodox Hinduism.

5. The Bengal Government—and much more the Bengal Council—is more likely to be unduly influenced by pressure from some one powerful class. The masses are not represented as yet (that is, not by non-official Members) * and the public opinion which now makes itself heard and felt is of two kinds. The large planting interest and the equally large commercial interest are connected intimately with the bar, which has, and always will attract the ablest barristers in India. They form collectively a powerful body of intelligent and earnest men, enabled, by connection with the press, both here and in England, to force on the Government the views which they think best for their own interests. Their views are always honest views, but occasionally circumstances cause them to be somewhat one-sided. The leaders of this body—and I am sure a hint from one who is a respecter of honest views will be taken in good part—would do well so to control its opinion as to prevent its bursting the banks of moderation, to guard its being carried away by temporary gusts of indignation or class feeling, and to prevent its urging the Government to the adoption of mischievous and suicidal courses.

6. The other class of opinion is that of the advanced section of native society. If this opinion is less honest, if views are expressed in and out of the press which are not entertained to their full extent, if claims and pretensions are put forward which even those who make them do not sincerely believe in the expediency of fully granting,—still, the motive is a good one, namely, a desire for absolute autonomy. I believe there are none who regard the idea of autonomy for Bengal as more chimerical than advanced Bengalis themselves.

* This matter will be discussed in an article by the present writer on "Indian Legislation," which will appear in the next number of this Review.

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Still a constant pressure is being brought to bear on Government to take the reins of the administration more and more out of the hands of Europeans; indigo factories are being more and more owned or financed by natives; the country trader and the town merchant are jostling and trading on the heels of European firms; and the native pleader claims to enter the portals of the Original Side of the High Court. If this section of public opinion is, outside the Legislative Council, less weighty with the Government—and I express no opinion one way or the other—its representations have probably greater influence inside the Council-hall than the representatives of the mercantile community. However that may be, the above facts go to show that, when important conflicting interests have to be dealt with in any particular legislative measure, the Supreme Council is more independent, more strong, and less likely to sacrifice or subordinate the interests of one class to another.

7. Finally a Local Council, owing to the influence of advanced native opinion, is not only likely to be more radical, but it may go too far in the direction of experimental autonomy, and thereby increase the difficulties of administration, merely in order to conciliate such opinion, and from a reluctance to oppose it. It may be said that this condemnation is somewhat general, and requires concrete instances to support it. I will give one. Owing to the desire of a Native Chairman to inspect a powder factory and works in a municipality near Calcutta, it was considered necessary so to amend a section of the Mofussil Municipalities Act as to empower the Local Government to exclude any portion of a municipality from the jurisdiction of the Commissioners. The amendment was calculated to be unpopular with the section of advanced natives, and it was passed into law with some reluctance and in a modified form.* The Supreme Council

* It had been intended to give the Local Government power to exclude all Government buildings, but the Bill was subsequently restricted to buildings used for naval or military purposes. Government buildings in Bengal Municipalities are often over-assessed, and perhaps such over-assessment is not an unmixed evil, as it is a sort of voluntary contribution by the Government towards the successful administration of municipalities. In the North-West Provinces, Government buildings in municipalities are exempt from assessment, and Government stores, on entering municipalities, pay no "octroi" duties.

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of course, would not have been affected by such considerations. The reasons which tell in favour of legislating in the Supreme Council, are at the same time reasons for not releasing Local Councils from the leading-strings of the Supreme Government. I have endeavoured to enumerate the *pros* and *cons* fully and dispassionately. It will be seen that there is much to be said on either side of the question, and I leave the reader to form his own conclusion as to the desirability or otherwise of conferring larger powers, and giving greater freedom to Local Councils.

Informal Legislation.

By informal legislation is meant legislation elsewhere than at legislative meetings. Such laws are made under the provisions of the Statute 33 Victoria, chapter 3, in the following manner:—The Secretary of State in Council may from time to time declare to what portions of India the provisions of the Statute are to be applicable; and thereafter any Local Government, now in existence or hereafter to be established, to which any such portion of India is subject, may propose to the Governor-General in Council drafts of any regulations, together with the reasons for proposing the same, for the peace and good government thereof. The Governor-General in Council shall take such drafts and reasons into consideration, and when any such draft shall have been approved of by the Governor-General in Council, and shall have received the Governor-General's assent, it shall be published in the "*Gazette of India*" and in the local "Gazette," and shall thereupon have the same legal operation and effect, and be subject to the like disallowances, as if it had been made at a regular meeting of the Legislative Council. Authentic copies of such Regulations are to be sent to the Secretary of State in Council.

The legislation under the Statute 33 Victoria, is intended to meet the wants of the more backward parts of India, to the inhabitants of which it would certainly be no blessing to extend all our elaborate codes and laws, or to enable the administration to cope better with peculiar crime or a specially turbulent population. In pursuance of the latter reason, section 1 of the Statute has been extended to Upper Burmah and certain Sindh and Panjab frontier districts. As regards the former object, the Statute has been extended to many jungly and hilly portions of the country: for instance, the Garo Hills, the Khasia and Jaintia Hills, the Naga Hills and certain other districts in Assam, to the Sontal Pergunnahs and the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal, to the Andaman and

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Nicobar islands, and to some backward portions of the Godavari District in the Presidency of Madras.

The ordinances of the Governor-General constitute another species of informal legislation. By section 23 of the Councils Act the Governor-General is invested with an extraordinary power of making and promulgating ordinances in cases of emergency on his own responsibility. Such ordinances have the same force and effect as a regular law for the space of not more than six months from the date of their promulgation, unless Her Majesty shall earlier signify her disallowance thereof, or unless they shall be controlled or superseded by some law made by the Governor-General in Council at a regular legislative meeting. It is absolutely necessary that the Governor-General should have this power; but it is only used on very urgent occasions.

The existence of such power naturally tends to give the Governor-General an additional weight and authority in Council deliberations. These ordinances, when made, are published in the *Gazette of India*. They have been few in number. The first was made by Lord Mayo in 1869 for the purpose of imposing an additional half per cent. of income-tax; and he made another in the same year to exclude a disturbed portion of territory on the frontiers of the Punjab from the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts. Lord Lytton passed one relating to salt. In 1876 Lord Northbrook made one on an important occasion to put a stop to a scurrilous dramatic representation in one of the Bengali theatres in Calcutta.

III. The Administration in India.

1. *The Civil Service.*

The Covenanted Civil Service is the successor and representative of the junior and senior merchants, factors, and writers who were employed for purposes of trade by the East India Company, and whose mercantile denominations were continued long after the occupation of trading had ceased to represent more than a subordinate feature in the Company's operations. The Company's servants were required, before leaving England, to enter into a covenant wherein their privileges were recited and their obligations were defined, and this practice has been continued up to the present time. Hence the term "Covenanted" Civil Service.

Before proceeding to discuss the Statutes relating to the Civil Service, it is advisable to refer to the constitutional declarations regarding the persons who may be employed in the service of the Crown in India. In this matter the Magna Charta of the Natives is contained in section 87 of 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 85, and in the Proclamation issued by Her Majesty on November

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1st, 1858, on the assumption of the direct Government of British India. The Statute enacts that "no Native of India, nor any natural-born subject of Her Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under Her Majesty." In a Despatch No. 44, dated the 10th of December 1834, the Court of Directors informed the Government of India that they understood the meaning of this enactment to be, that whatever other tests of qualification might be adopted, distinction of race or religion should not be of the number. The object of the enactment was not to ascertain qualification, but to remove disqualification; a line of demarcation, to some extent in favour of natives, to some extent in exclusion of them, had been maintained; and the Directors declared that the enactment obliterated this line of demarcation, or rather substituted for it another wholly irrespective of the distinction of race, and that thenceforth *fitness* was to be the essential condition for admission to office, and the object to be primarily kept in view was to secure to all classes the benefits of a wise, impartial and efficient administration. The proclamation of 1858 closely followed the terms of the despatch of 1834:—"It is Our further will that, so far as may be, Our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be *qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly* to discharge." The recent Public Service Commission has come to the unanimous conclusion that it could not support any proposal as sound in itself or likely to be a final solution of the problems embraced in its inquiry, which involves a departure from the above principles.

The principle of competition for the Civil Service was first laid down in the India Act of 1853,* and it was re-affirmed by the Statute of 1858.

Section 32 of 21 and 22 Vict., c. 106 (which transferred the Government of India from the Company to the Crown) enacts that with all convenient speed, after the passing of this Act, regulations shall be made by the Secretary of State, with the advice and assistance of the Civil Service Commissioners, for the time being, for the examination of *natural-born subjects of Her Majesty* desirous of becoming candidates for appointment to the Civil Service of India. Such regulations were to prescribe the age and qualifications of candidates and the branches of knowledge in which they were to be examined. It is also enacted that all regulations made under the Act are to

* 16 and 17 Vict., c. 95, s s. 36, 37.

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be laid before Parliament within fourteen days after they are made, or if Parliament be not sitting, within fourteen days after its next meeting. These provisions are still in force, and constitute the legal authority under which rules regarding the India Civil Service Examination are annually issued by the Secretary of State in Council.

It will be seen that only natural-born subjects of Her Majesty are eligible to compete, and the general constitutional declarations are subject of course to this specific provision. It being held by the Legislative Department of the Government of India that the subject of a Native State does not come within this definition, and cannot therefore compete for the Indian Civil Service.*

The Statue of 1793 (33 Geo. III, c. 52) prescribed that all vacancies in the Civil branch of the Company's Service under the degree of Counsellor were to be filled up from amongst the Covenanted Civil Servants, but the exigencies of the public service rendered it impossible to adhere to this provision, and it had been found necessary to confer many such appointments on other persons, both Europeans and natives, who consisted for the most part of Military or Uncovenanted officers. It was one of the chief objects of the Statute of 1861 (24 and 25 Vict., c. 54) to validate the appointments thus irregularly made. With regard to the future, the principal administrative appointments were enumerated in a Schedule annexed to the Act, and the Act directs that they shall be filled up only from the ranks of Covenanted Civil Servants. An exception to this rule is, however, made in section 3, which permits the appointment to such offices, "under the special circumstances of the case," of persons not being Covenanted Civil Servants, provided they have resided in India for

* It would appear to follow from this ruling, that the subject of a Native State must be an "alien." But surely this cannot be affirmed. A man must be either a natural born subject or an alien. "Natural-born subjects are such as are born within the dominion of the Crown of England—that is, within the ligeance, or, as it is generally called, the allegiance of the King; and aliens, such as are born out of it." Blackstone, Bk. i. ch. 10. "An alien is one who is born out of the ligeance of the King." Comyn's Dig. Art. "alien." "An alien is one who is born in a strange country." Bacon's Abr. Art. "alien." Forsyth, Constitutional Law, p. 324. Would the inhabitant of a Native State have to pay the naturalisation fee of Rs. 250 under the Indian Act, XXX of 1852 (an Act for the naturalization of aliens)? A Native of Hill Tipperah, (Native State) comes to Comillah (British District) and settles there for the purposes of trade, but *animo revertendi*. Would he be disqualified from serving as an assessor or juror? See Code of Criminal Procedure, section 278. A native of the Hydrabad State and a native of the British District of Bellary go to England together and settle down there. Must the former resort to the procedure prescribed in 10 and 11 Vic., c. 83, before he can become naturalized?

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at least seven years. It is also required that, before any person can be appointed to any office in the Revenue or Judicial Departments specified in the said Schedule, he must pass an examination in the vernacular language of the district in which he is to be employed, and shall also be subject to all the departmental tests and other qualifications and restrictions which are, or may be imposed in the like case on Covenanted Civil Servants. Every such appointment, and the special reasons for making it, is to be forthwith reported to the Secretary of State in Council, and unless his approval, with the concurrence of a majority of members present at a meeting, be notified within twelve months, the appointment shall be cancelled. The offices enumerated in the Schedule are the following :—

1. Secretaries, Junior Secretaries, and Under-Secretaries to the several Governments in India, except those in the Military, Marine and Public Works Departments.
2. Accountant-General.
3. Civil Auditor.
4. Sub-Treasurer.

Judicial.

1. Civil and Sessions Judges, or Chief Judicial officers of districts in the Provinces now known as Regulation Provinces.
2. Additional and Assistant Judges in the said Provinces.
3. Magistrates or Chief Magisterial officers of districts in the said Provinces.
4. Joint Magistrates in the said Provinces.
5. Assistant Magistrates in the said Provinces.

Revenue.

1. Members of the Board of Revenue in the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras.
2. Secretaries to the said Boards of Revenue.
3. Commissioners of Revenue or Chief Revenue officers of divisions in the Provinces now known as Regulation Provinces.
4. Collectors of Revenue or Chief Revenue officers of districts in the said Provinces.
5. Deputy or Subordinate Collectors where combined with the office of Joint Magistrate in the said Provinces.
6. Assistant Collectors in the said Provinces.
7. Salt Agents.
8. Controller of Salt Chowkies.

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9. Commissioners of Customs, Salt and Opium.
10. Opium Agents.

In the Public Service Commission Report it is stated, that only two substantive appointments were made under the Statute of 1861. It is believed, however, that recourse has been had to the statute on more than one occasion in connection with the appointment of military officers to reserved posts in the Foreign Department, and also that temporary appoinments of native officers to various judicial posts have been authorized under its provisions when covenanted agency was not available.

Statutory Civil Service.

So stood the law until the year 1870, when a more serious inroad was made on the vested interests of the Civil Service and the principle of competition.

Section 6 of 33 Victoria, chapter 3, after reciting the expediency of giving additional facilities for the employment of natives in India, enacts that nothing in the Acts 21 and 22 Vict., c. 106, or 24 and 25 Vict., c. 54, shall restrain the authorities in India from appointing to any office in the Civil Service any native of India "*of proved merit and ability.*" Such appointments are to be made subject to such rules as may be from time to time prescribed by the Governor-General in Council, and sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of members present. The definition of "natives of India" in this section is of great importance to those Europeans who are domiciling themselves and bringing up their children in India. The term includes any person born and domiciled within the dominions of Her Majesty in India, of parents habitually resident in India, and not established there for temporary purposes only. The grammatical wording of this sentence is not as perfect as it might be: still, it is clear that if a European Civil Servant, or Deputy Magistrate, or Police Officer, settles down in India after retirement *animo manendi*, and brings up his children in India, they have as much legal right to be appointed under this section as any pure native.

As regards the nature and effect of appointments under the statute, it was ruled by the Secretary of State in 1883 that the statute does not authorise the appointment of natives of India to the Covenanted Civil Service, but merely their appointment to offices, places or employments which are reserved for Covenanted Civil Servants. Nor does it authorize the appointment of persons who are subjects of native States.*

* See note on page 321.

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The various sets of rules framed under the Statute of 1870 may be briefly noticed. Having regard to the words "proved merit and ability," the Government of India naturally inferred that the main condition for appointment should be a certain precedent term of service in the higher ranks of subordinate Government employ. The Law Officers of the Crown, however, were of opinion that the Government of India had placed too narrow a construction on the statute, and the rules were accordingly disallowed. In 1875 revised rules were drawn up by Lord Northbrook's Government and were sanctioned "as a tentative measure." Only one or two appointments were made under them. Revised rules were drawn up by Lord Lytton's Government and sanctioned by the Secretary of State (Viscount Cranbrook) in 1879. These rules provide that a proportion, not exceeding one-fifth of the total number of civilians appointed by the Secretary of State to the Civil Service in any one year, should be natives selected in India by the Local Governments. After some years it was held by many that the plan of nomination had been a failure, and it was generally felt to be a flaw that no antecedent guarantee existed of the fitness of the persons selected. In 1884 it was decided to re-open the question, and the result of doing so was the appointment of the Public Service Commission under the orders of the Marquis of Dufferin. The number of appointments made under the rules of 1879 up to and including the year 1886 has been 48, of whom 27 are Hindus, 15 Mahomedans, 2 Parsis, 2 Sikhs, and 2 are Burmans. The Commission has recorded its opinion that the existing Statutory system has failed to attract to the service men combining high social position with the requisite intellectual and educational qualifications. The Public Service Commission Report is now under the consideration of the Secretary of State.

Miscellaneous provisions regarding the Covenanted Civil Service.

As regards appoinments and promotions in the ranks of the Civil Service, there seems to be a sort of unwritten law that seniority is to prevail, and Local Governments find it very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to break through this rigid rule. It does not appear to be generally known that there exists written law on this subject. Under sections 56, 57 of 33, Geo. III, c. 52, vacancies in the civil line were to be filled up strictly according to seniority or length of service. This rule, as might have been expected, was found to be most detrimental to the efficiency of the service. Such a rule acts, of course, as a direct incentive to doing the minimum amount of work possible, and as a direct check on energy and hard work.

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Accordingly section 7 of 24 and 25 Vict., c. 54, enacted that "sec. 56 of 33 Geo. III. c. 52, and so much of the other sections of the said Act or of any other Act now in force as requires seniority as a condition or qualification for the appointment of Civil Servants to offices, places, or employments, shall be repealed." The rule of seniority has thus been abolished by statute. In the appoinment to the commands of regiments, and other important posts in the army, fitness only is looked to; fitness only is looked to by private employers; and yet in the Civil Service of the State seniority is still so rigidly adhered to, that one might suppose the statutory law in favour of seniority was still in force.

The underpaid and overworked civilian of the present period will look back with regret to the halcyon days when it was found necessary or expedient to impose a statutory * limit, according to length of service, on the amount of salary that a Civil Servant could draw. He must have served for three, six, nine, or twelve years before he could draw a salary of £500, £1,500 £3,000, or £4,000 respectively! A strict adherence even to these restrictions was found to be "impracticable without detriment to the public service, or injury to the just claims and meritorious exertions of individuals." The Act was modified † in favour of the scholars educated at Hertfort College, and by a later statute, ‡ it was enacted that offices with salaries of £1,500, £3,000 and £4,000 per annum might be conferred on Civil Servants who had actually served in India for not less than four, seven, and ten years respectively! But the restrictions of the first mentioned statute still apply to the creation of pluralities. § No one can hold two or more offices, of which the joint salaries or emoluments exceed the prescribed limits. It may be doubted whether the statute has not been infringed on occasions, when Secretaries have performed the duties of Under Secretary in addition to their own duties, or *vice versâ*. ||

The same statute contains a safeguard ¶ against the blocking of promotion by an undue number of admissions into the service in any particular year. The section enacts that it shall not be lawful for the Court of Directors to send out to India a greater number of persons in the capacity of cadets or writers, or in any other capacity, than will be necessary to supply the proper complement of officers according to such returns of vacancies as the respective Governments in India

* 33 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 57.
† 47 Geo. III, sess. 2, c. 68.
‡ 53 Geo. III, c. 155, s. 82.
§ 33 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 58.
|| See Civil Service Regulations, chap. VIII. Any provision in these Regulations, which is antagonistic to any statute, must, of course, be void.
¶ 33. Geo. III, c. 32, s. 59.

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shall transmit from thence to the said Court of Directors. There appears to have been a lamentable miscalculation or infringement of the provisions of this section in the years 1861 and 1862.

Under the Act of 1793,* no person could be appointed or sent to India in the capacity of writer or cadet, whose age was under 15 or over 22 years. In 1837 it was enacted † that the maximum age limit for admission to Haileybury should be 21 years, and for appointment as a writer 23 years. By a subsequent enactment, ‡ the power of determining the age of persons to be admitted to Haileybury or appointed to the Civil Service, was given to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, subject to Parliamentary control. The Regulations framed under the Statute of 1853 were based on the Report of Lord Macaulay's Committee, which recommended 23 years as the maximum, and 18 years as the minimum age for admission to the competitive examination, 25 years being fixed as the latest age at which persons should be permitted to go out to India. The minimum limit for admission to Haileybury College had been 17 years. In 1859, as has been remarked above, the duty of framing Regulations was transferred to the Secretary of State in Council acting with the advice of the Civil Service Commissioners. In 1860 the maximum age for admission to the open competition was lowered from 23 to 22, and in 1866 it was further lowered to 21, in consequence of the introduction of a system whereby the successful candidates were required to pass two years on probation in England; at the same time the minimum limit, which had been 18, was reduced to 17 years. In 1878 the maximum limit was still further reduced to 19 years, and the payment of probationary allowances was made conditional on the candidates passing the two years at some University or College. These age limits are still in force. The Public Service Commission have recommended that, in the case of native candidates, they should be raised to 19 and 23 years respectively. The Commission were precluded from considering the case of English candidates,§ but it is to be presumed that the age limits, if altered, will be the same for Englishmen as for natives

It has been stated above that vacancies occurring in the civil line of the Company's Service were to be filled up from amongst the Civil Servants of the said Company *belonging to the Presidency wherein such vacancies may occur*.‖ This section

* 33 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 60. † 7 Will. IV, and 1 Vict. c. 70, ss. 4, 5.
‡ 16 and 17 Vict., c. 95, ss. 39, 40.
§ Report of the Public Service Commission, 1886-87, para. 62.
‖ 33 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 57.

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has been amended, * and to a great extent superseded by later enactments; but the Secretary of State has been advised that the presidential restriction on appointments is still in force notwithstanding 24 and 25 Vict., c. 54. Under the existing form of covenant a Civil Servant cannot be transferred from one Presidency to another without his consent, and it is doubtful whether his consent would make the transfer legal. A Civil Servant may be transferred from the North-Western Provinces to Bengal, or from Bengal to the Central Provinces, as they are all portions of the same Presidency. It is probable that the recommendations of the Public Service Commission will lead to the passing of a comprehensive Constitutional Statute, embodying some further changes in the constitution of the Civil Service.

Although the Commission is not in favour of the statutory system, and has recommended that section 6 of the Statute 33 Victoria, chapter 3, should be repealed, it nevertheless considers that a power of appointment, similar to that conferred by the Statute of 1870, might with advantage be retained for certain limited purposes only. The gist of the Commission's Report, so far as it affects the Covenanted Civil Service, lies in the recommendation, that natives may be appointed to one-sixth of the total number of District Collectorships and to one-third of the total number of District Judgeships. This very sweeping recommendation, it is said, has not commended itself to the Home Government.

2. *The High Courts.*†

The High Courts of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay are to consist of a Chief Justice, and as many judges, not exceeding fifteen, as Her Majesty may, from time to time, think fit to appoint. Such judges are to be selected from:—

1. Barristers of not less than five years' standing; or
2. Members of the Covenanted Civil Service of not less than ten years standing, and who shall have served as Zillah Judges, or shall have exercised the like powers for at least three years of that period.
3. Persons who have held judicial office not inferior to that of Principal Sudder Amin or Judge of a Small Cause Court for not less than five years; or;
4. Persons who have been Pleaders of a Sudder Court or High Court for not less than ten years:

Provided that not less than one-third of the judges, including the Chief Justice, shall be barristers, and not less than one-third shall be Covenanted Civilians.

* 53 Geo. III. c. 155, s. 82.

† 24 and 25 Vict., c. 104.

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As regards the word "barristers," the Government of India has held that it means practising barristers, and not barrister civilians. The words, "the like powers" in the second clause, have been held to include the powers of a Judicial Commissioner. The third clause has been held by the Secretary of State not to apply to Covenanted Civilians.

High Court Judges hold their offices during Her Majesty's pleasure. The Chief Justice takes rank and precedence first, and the other judges according to the seniority of their appointments. Their salaries, allowances, furloughs, retiring pensions, and (when necessary) expenses for equipment and voyage, are fixed, and may be altered from time to time by the Secretary of State in Council.* When a vacancy occurs in the office of Chief Justice, the Governor-General in Council, or the Governor in Council, as the case may be, shall appoint one of the other judges to perform the duties of Chief Justice until some person has been appointed by Her Majesty. So if the Chief Justice is absent. The judge so appointed need not be a barrister.

On the establishment of the High Courts in 1861, the Supreme Courts and the Courts of Sudder Dewani Adálat and Sudder Nizamat Adálut (known as Faujdari Adálat and Sudder Faujdari Adálat in Madras and Bombay respectively) were abolished.† The fusion of these Courts into the present High Courts will be further discussed below.

Jurisdiction of High Court.

Each High Court exercises such powers as are specified in the Letters Patent by which it is constituted; and subject to such Letters Patent, and *always subject and without prejudice to the legislative powers of the Governor-General of India in Council*, it may exercise all such powers as were vested in the abolished Supreme and Sudder Courts. ‡ All Acts of Parliament or of the Indian Legislature, Orders of Her Majesty in Council or Charters, which were applicable to the Supreme Courts, were to continue applicable to the newly established High Courts, subject, of course, to the legislative powers of the Indian Legislature.§

Section 16 of the statute makes it lawful for Her Majesty to establish a new High Court by Letters Patent for any portion of her Indian territories not included within the limits of the jurisdiction of another High Court. Under this section a High Court of Judicature was established for the North-Western Provinces under Letters Patent, dated 17th March

* See Civil Service Regulations, Chap. xxiii.
† 24 and 25 Vict., c. 104, s. 8.
‡ *id.* s. 9. § *id.* s. 11.

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1866 ; and, as under section 19 the words " Governor-General and Governor" comprehend the officer administering the Government, it follows that the powers which the Act gives to the Governor-General may be exercised by the Lieutenant-Governor in respect of the North-Western Provinces High Court.

High Courts are vested by law with, *inter alia*, the following powers :—

1. The exercise of Admiralty criminal jurisdiction.* If the offence is not punishable by the law of India, the penal law of England is applied. But the procedure is to be that of the Indian law.† The Admiralty jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts is continued to the High Courts by Section 9 of 24 and 25 Vict., c. 105, s. 9, and by ss. 32 and 33 of the Letters Patent of 1865. ‡
2. Criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects throughout the province for which the High Court is established.§
3. Superintendence over all courts which may be subject to their appellate jurisdiction. They may call for returns, direct transfer of suits or appeals from one Court to another, frame rules of practice and procedure, and prescribe forms for Subordinate Courts, and may settle tables of fees to be allowed to the clerks and officers of Courts. In addition to these powers, High Court Judges may be appointed Commissioners for the purpose of carrying into execution any commission from the High Court of Admiralty in England for the adjudication of prize causes or other maritime questions arising in India. ‖ The Letters Patent, constituting the various High Courts, are subject to the legislative powers of the Governor-General in Council, and also of the Governor-General in cases of emergency under 24 and 25 Vic., c. 67. High Courts are bound to comply with all requisitions made by the Government for records, returns and statements, in such

* Charter of Justice, dated 26th March 1774. The jurisdiction was extended to the high seas at large by 33 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 156. It was declared by s. 110 of 53 Geo. III, c. 155, that this jurisdiction extended to all persons.

† 33 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 156, and 7. Bom. H. C., 128 ; also 1 B. L. R. O. Cr. 1.

‡ The effect of 12 and 13 Vict., c. 69, s. 23 and 24 Vict. c. 88, s. 1, is to confer this jurisdiction on Mofussil Courts also.

§ 13 Geo. III, c. 63, s. 14 : 37 Geo. III, c. 142, s. 10.

‖ 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 25.

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form and manner as the Government may deem proper. *

Every High Court has power to direct that its original and appellate jurisdiction shall be exercised by one or more judges, or by Division Courts, constituted of two or more judges. This would be decided by a majority of the judges, but it is for the Chief Justice to determine what judge shall sit alone, and what judges shall constitute the several Division Courts (ss. 13, 14).

The salary of a High Court Judge used to be Rs. 4,166; it is now Rs. 3,750. The Secretary of State has power to alter the salary from time to time, provided that the alteration does not affect the salary of any judge appointed prior to the date thereof. †

Position of the High Court in relation to the Executive Government.

In 1780-81 was passed the Statute 21 Geo. III, c. 70 to put an end to the deadlock between the Supreme Court and the Executive Government. The extraordinary proceedings of the Supreme Court and the grossly illegal manner in which it arrogated to itself powers which it did not possess, ‡ had thrown the whole Province into terror and confusion. The preamble to the Statute recites how the minds of the inhabitants have been disquieted with fears and apprehensions, and the first section enacts that the Governor-General in Council shall not be subject, jointly or severally, to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court for any act done by them in their public capacity. By Section 10 of 37 Geo. III, c 142, the Supreme Courts at Madras and Bombay were debarred from trying any indictment or information (not being treason or felony) against the Governors or any of their Council.§ The exemptions from jurisdiction appear to be the following:—

(1.) Governors‖ and members of their Councils are not subject to the jurisdiction of the High Courts for acts done in their public capacity:

(2.) They are not liable to be arrested or imprisoned on any suit or proceeding: ¶

(3.) They are not subject to such jurisdiction for common law misdemeanours or offences under statutes.** But

* Letters Patent of Calcutta High Court, clauses 43, 44.

† 24 and 25 Vic. c. 104, s. 6. | ‡ Mill's History of British India.

§ 13 Geo. III, c. 63, s. 15 contains a similar provision as regards the Governor-General and his Council.

‖This would include Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners.

¶ 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, ss. 2, 3. | ** 13 Geo. III, c. 70, ss. 2—4.

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apparently the Governor-General could be proceeded against on an indictment for treason or felony.

It may be asked if there is no remedy against acts of oppression or injury committed by the Governor-General or any member of his Council. I shall treat of prosecutions later under the head "Penal Provisions." But an important provision, as to taking and recording evidence, may be noticed here. Any person who considers himself oppressed or injured may make a complaint to the High Court, and if he gives proper security to prosecute the said complaint by indictment, information, or action in some competent Court in Great Britain within two years from the complaint or from the return to Great Britain of the person complained against, he shall be entitled to the production and authentication before the Court of a true copy of the order of which he complains, and to examine witnesses on the matter of the said complaint. The party complained against may also produce witnesses, and the depositions are to be transmitted to England, and are there receivable as evidence.* Only the Governor-General and Council are mentioned in this statute, and it was held in 1882 that the jurisdiction conferred by this section on the Calcutta High Court over the Governor-General and Council, is not conferred by 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 3, on the Madras High Court over the Governor and Council Madras.† 13 Geo. III, c. 63, s. 39, authorizes the indictment of Governors also, but no provision is made for the anticipatory taking of evidence. The reason seems to lie in the complete subordination of Governors to the Governor-General. An oppressed party may seek the intervention of the Governor-General. The Statute 33, Geo. III, c. 52, enjoins absolute obedience on Local Governments. Again, to quote from the terse and lucid judgment of the Honourable Mr. Hutchins, "the Statute Geo III, c. 63, s. 9, required Local Governments to keep the Governor-General acquainted with all transactions and matters whatsoever, and would at all events have authorized the Governor-General to call for copies of all the proceedings in case of a complaint to him by any person oppressed by the Local Government. . . . . There was then no occasion to confer on the new Supreme Court the extraordinary power given by 21 Geo. III, c. 70, s. 5, and I am satisfied that it was not given by 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 3, while the Letters Patent most certainly did not confer it."

The written order of the Governor-General and Council is a complete justification for any act; and if it be shown that the

* 21 Geo. III, c. 70, ss. 5, 6.

† In the matter of the petition of John Wallace, I. L. R., 8. Mad., 24.

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act done has been done according to the purport of the said order, the defendant is entitled to be acquitted and discharged from every suit, action or process whatsoever, civil or criminal. But the High Court retains full jurisdiction as regards acts affecting European British subjects; nor does the provision exempt the Governor-General and Council, jointly or severally, from suit or process before any competent court in England.*

It remains to notice some statutory restrictions on the jurisdiction of the High Courts, and the law to be applied by them. These restrictions were necessitated by the extraordinary judicial vagaries of the Supreme Court, which are graphically narrated in the pages of Mill, Shore, Macaulay, Sir James Stephen, and other writers.

Firstly.—The High Court has no jurisdiction in any matter concerning the revenue, or concerning any acts ordered or done in the collection thereof, according to the usage and practice of the country. I mention this as a restriction, as I believe it is a correct statement of the law, and it is certainly advisable that the law should be so. A majority of the Madras High Court (Innes and Kernan, J J.) have held otherwise,† but Chief-Justice Morgan dissented, and the arguments used by him appear to be very weighty. The Supreme Court had not this jurisdiction. The Statute (24 and 25 Vict., c. 104) establishing High Courts of Judicature in India, provides (s. 9) that they shall have and exercise all jurisdiction vested in the abolished Supreme Court, *save as by the Letters Patent may be otherwise directed.* Have the Letters Patent otherwise directed? Sir William Morgan held not. It is true that the 12th section of the Letters Patent gives originial jurisdiction to the High Court to determine suits of *every description* arising within certain local limits, but it does not provide for the law to be administered. By section 18 it is ordained that the law or equity of the Supreme Court is to be applied. Sections 18—20, which ordain what law shall be administered by the High Court in civil cases do, in effect, preserve the laws of the old tribunals for the cases which would previously have been governed by them. It will be seen from the report of the case that even Mr. Justice Kernan was of opinion that the exception in the Charter of 1800 was in force as regards *land* revenue, at the passing of 24 and 25 Vict., c. 104, and the grant of the charter thereunder. This subject is one of great importance to the Indian administration. Its adequate treatment would require a separate article. Suffice it to say here, that the administration has been much hampered

* 21 Geo. III, c. 70, ss. 2, 3, 4.

† Collector of Sea Customs *v.* P. Chitambaram. I. L. R. 1. Mad. 89, See also 11 B. L. R. 250.

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by the tendency to follow the constitutional law of England rather than the *droit administratif* of continental countries, where the acts of executive officials are only liable to be called in question before executive courts *(tribunaux administratifs)*.*

Secondly.—The law to be administered in cases of inheritance and succession must be that of Mahomedans or Gentoos, according as the parties are Mahomedans or Gentoos, or where any one of the parties is a Mahomedan or Gentoo, the law and usages of the defendant.† This provision is an express recognition of Warren Hastings' rule contained in the first Regulation enacted by his government for the administration of justice. Section 27 of the Regulation, which was passed on the 17th April 1780, enacted "that in all suits regarding inheritance, marriage and caste, and other religious usages and institutions, the laws of the Koran with respect to Mahomedans, and those of the Shasters with respect to Gentoos, shall be invariably adhered to. ‡"

Thirdly.—The rights and authorities of fathers of families and masters of families, as the same might have been exercised by the Gentoo or Mahomedan law, are to be preserved to them respectively within their families; nor shall any acts done, in consequence of the rule and law of caste respecting the members of the said families only, be held and adjudged a crime, although the same may not be justifiable by the laws of England. §

Of course the Penal Code and other Acts have made considerable inroads on these principles: but so far as they have not been superseded or affected by direct legislation, the Courts are bound to respect these principles.

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* There are traces of a *droit administratif* in India. See sections 132 144, 197, &c., Code of Criminal Procedure. In other Provinces the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts in revenue matters has been ousted to a far greater extent than in Lower Bengal, where English law influences are more predominant. As regards Bombay, see "the Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Act," X of 1876, ss. 1, 4, 6 Section 158 of the Panjab Land Revenue Act, XVII of 1887, excludes the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts—See also s. 75 *seqq*. of the Panjab Tenancy Act. As regards Oudh, see the Oudh Rent Act. XXII of 1886, s. 108. For Central Provinces, see section 152 of Act XVIII of 1881. For Burmah, see Act II. of 1876, s. 56. The necessity of a *droit administratif* for India will be discussed in a separate article.

† 21 Geo. III, c. 70, s. 17. The section also mentions "matters of contract and dealing between party and party," but this portion is superseded by the Contract Act.

‡ This principle has been uniformly adhered to in subsequent legislation; see Act VI of 1871, s. 24, repealed by and re-enacted in Act XII of 1887, s. 37. See also the Charters of the various High Courts. See also the Civil Courts Acts for all Provinces.

§ 21 Geo. III, c. 70, s. 18.

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These two principles may be denominated non-interference with the *patria potestas*, and non-interference with caste. As to the first, we know that slavery was not abolished in India till 1843. Even to this day Magistrates find lingering traces of it in the Mofussil. The Penal Code, as originally framed in 1838, did not venture to go further than to insert an explanation to the general exception, dealing with justification by law, to the effect that no act, which would otherwise be an offence, should be justified as punishment on a legal slave. By Act V of 1843 it was enacted that no public officer should sell, under any decree of Court (*a*) any person, or (*b*) the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery; also that no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave, should be enforced by any Court. The same Act provides that no person shall be dispossessed of his acquisitions on the ground of slavery, and that any act which would be a penal offence, if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery. Finally, section 370 of the Penal Code makes it an offence, punishable with seven years imprisonment, to buy or dispose of any person as a slave. The Act of 1843 is not in force, *proprio vigore*, in the Scheduled Districts, * and there are some Scheduled Districts to which it does not appear to have been extended, for instance, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the Sontal Pergunnahs, and the Scheduled Districts of the Madras Presidency.†

The exemption in favour of acts done in consequence of the rules of caste is repeated in section 12 of 37 Geo. III, c. 142. It will be seen from the statutes that the exemption extends only to acts done "respecting the members of the said families," that is, to acts done by the father of the family, and possibly by one member of a family towards another. The object of the law is stated to be regard for the religious as well as the civil usages of the natives. This being so, it seems open to question whether it would be an offence for the head of a family to compel a minor member of it to undergo some religious atonement or penance, no matter how revolting to European ideas. In a recent case before the Allahabad High Court‡ one Sarat Chunder Chakrabartti applied for the custody of his younger brother Sotya Charan, who had become a Christian. The latter stated in his petition that he

* See Act XV. of 1874.

† *Quære*—Might not the existence of hereditary serfdom or slavery (apart from buying or selling) be legally recognized in these tracts?

‡ Reported in the *Pioneer* of 22nd April 1889.

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had been compelled to eat a mixture of cow's dung and urine. Would this be a criminal offence? The chapter of general exceptions in the Penal Code contains no section relating to caste. If Sotya Charan were over 12 years of age, it apparently would be an offence (sec. 89 Penal Code), as section 92 would not be applicable to the case. It may be said that the Statutes of George III have not been repealed. But are they "affected" by the Penal Code? Possibly they are, as section 5 of the Code states, that "nothing in this Act is intended to repeal, vary, suspend, or affect any of the provisions of the Statute 3 and 4 William IV, chapter 85, or of any Act of Parliament *passed after that Statute*, in any wise affecting the East India Company, or the said territories, or the inhabitants thereof." If, then, the minor member of the family were over 12 years of age, the act above alluded to would seem to be "criminal force" (s. 350).

But caste and religious usages are inextricably mixed, and having regard to the Statutes of George III, and to the legislation of 1793, it might perhaps be fairly argued that the Courts have not given sufficient consideration to the constitutional principle of non-interference with acts *bonâ fide* done in the exercise of caste authority or the *patria potestas*. * But the question is beset with difficulties. Section 79 of the Penal Code states that "nothings is an offence, which is done by any person who is justified by law." Are constitutional principles underlying old statutes (passed prior to 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 85) to be considered in the administration of the Penal Code? They probably should be considered, so far as they have not been expressly or impliedly repealed, and are not repugnant to natural justice or the dictates of good conscience. It may be said that this is a loose and vague dictum, but unfortunately the law is often uncertain. In a case † of defamation under the Penal Code, Straight J. justly remarked :— "No court could wish to interfere with those domestic rules

* In "La Cité Antique," Fustel de Coulanges has well pointed out the resemblance of the Hindu to the Greek and Roman Law as regards the power of the father or the husband. A woman could never have a religious hearth of her own : she could not be the Chief of a cult. In Rome a woman lost the title of *materfamilias* directly her husband died. The word *pater* denoted, not paternity, but authority. The father was the absolute Magistrate in the family. Women were not triable by the State, but only by their fathers or husbands. Subsequently, we know from Tacitus and Plato, the father consulted the whole family in his adjudications. Both in Rome and Athens the husband could kill his adulterous wife, and a father could sell a dishonoured daughter into slavery. Aulus Gellius, X., 23; Valerius Maximus VI, 1, 3 6; Plutarch, life of Solon, 23 : Schol. ad Horat. Sat. II, 7, 62. See also Penal Code of China, 285.

† I. L. R 3 All 342, 664.

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and laws, which regulate and control the relations between the members of a caste. On the contrary, the tendency would rather be to countenance and protect them." That the Legislature does not desire to stereotype caste, or to encourage suits in connection with it, may be inferred from the fact that suits for compensation for loss of caste may not be brought *in formâ pauperis*. * In 1850 it was enacted † that so much of any law of usage as inflicted on any person forfeiture of rights or property, or affected his right of inheritance, by reason of his renouncing, or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, should cease to be enforced in any Court. Still it is the general rule that, in questions regarding caste, the Civil Courts are bound to apply the Hindu or Mahomedan Law, except in so far as such law has been altered or abolished. ‡ In the Reports of the Sudder Dewani Adálut, there are some curious cases regarding caste and caste rights, and rights connected with religion. The head of a sect sues for the exclusive privilege of being carried cross-wise in a palanquin down a road; another man claims the exclusive privilege of painting his elephant a certain colour. But it may be questioned whether these claims are more absurd than some which may be met with in Phillimore's Ecclesiastical Law? As to caste, suits have been entertained for loss of character, arising from not being invited to a caste feast, § and in the Bombay Reports || there is an instance of an action for damages for a "malicious expulsion from caste." But the tendency now-a-days is not to entertain such cases. ¶ British Courts in India have no easy task. They should not ignore or trample on customs beloved of the masses, while they must take care not to recognize, and so stereotype and perpetuate usage which is bad, as being contrary to good policy, to justice, equity, or good conscience.

Advocates-General.

Under the head of the High Courts, it will be convenient to notice the provisions of certain statutes which relate to the office of Advocate-General.

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* Act XIV of 1882, s. 402.

† Act XXI of 1850, s. 1.

‡ See, as regards Burmah, Act XVII of 1875, s. 4; Oudh—Act XVIII of 1876, s. 3; Madras Act III of 1873, s. 16; Bengal, N.-W. Provinces and Assam—Act XII of 1887, s. 37; Punjab—Act IV of 1872, s. 5; Central Provinces—Act XX. of 1875, s. 5. It is noteworthy that the Acts relating to the Central Provinces and the Panjab do not mention "caste" but only "any religious usage or institution." *Quære*, is this intentional or merely loose drafting?

§ Moore's Indian Rep. ii, 479.

|| 1 Bom. Rep. pp. 11-35. Dharmchand *v.* Goolachand. See Strange's Hindu Law, i, 161.

¶ See I. L. R. 2 Bom. 470; 10 Bom. 661.

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The first mention I can find of these officers is in 53 Geo. III, c. 155, s. 111, which empowers them to file "informations in the nature of actions at law or bills in equity" for any debts due to the Crown, or against any persons in respect of such debts, in the same way as the Attorney-General is authorized to proceed in England." The Attorney-General frequently appears on behalf of the Inland Revenue Commissioners to enforce customs or excise penalties.

By section 29 of 21 and 22 Vic., c. 106, it was enacted that the appointments of Advocate-General for the several Presidencies, now made with the approbation of the Commissioners for the affairs of India, should be made by Her Majesty by warrant under Her Royal Sign Manual. These officers are additional members of Local Legislative Councils (24 and 25 Vic., c. 67, s. 29).

Under clause 24 of the Letters Patent of the Calcutta High Court, 1865,* the High Court has extraordinary original criminal jurisdiction over all persons residing in places within the jurisdiction of any Court now subject to the superintendence of the said High Court, and has authority to try, at its discretion, any such persons brought before it on *charges preferred by the Advocate-General*, or by any Magistrate or other officer specially empowered by the Government in that behalf. Moreover, the High Court may review any Criminal judgment or sentence of one or more Judges of the High Court, exercising original criminal jurisdiction, on its being certified by the Advocate-General that, in his judgment, there is an error in the decision of a point or points of law, or that a point which has been decided should be further considered.

The Advocate-General in Bengal seldom or never appears to enforce penalties in fiscal proceedings. In England there is a virtual appeal in such cases from acquittals by a Justice of the Peace, and it would be a good thing for the revenue, if Advocates-General in India sometimes applied to the High Court to enhance inadequate penalties for breaches of excise laws, or appealed on behalf of the Local Government against any improper acquittals, both in such cases and in criminal cases of importance.

The Advocate-General in Bengal sometimes appears in cases and proceedings against Government Officers. Such a practice seems to be anomalous and inconsonant with the duties and

* The Letters Patent of the other High Courts contain similar provisions.

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position of a law officer of the Crown. The Advocate-General in Calcutta is under the Government of India as well as that of Bengal; and a dual control sometimes means an absence of control.

No doubt the position of the Advocate-General differed at one time considerably from that of the Attorney-General in England. It was queried in one case,* whether the Advocate-General of the Supreme Court represented the Attorney-General in England, and in another case,† Grant, J. expressed his opinion that the Advocate-General does not represent the Crown *ex officio*, to the same extent as the Attorney-General in England. These rulings were given in 1835 and 1836, but since 1858 Advocates-General are appointed by Her Majesty; their official position has been amplified in the Letters Patent of the High Courts, and their duties have been carefully defined in rules framed by the Government of India. There are two cases relating to the functions of the Advocate-General in Moore's Reports. In one, the Advocate-General of Bengal brought a suit for the property of a suicide as forfeited to the Crown. In the other,‡ it was held that the Advocate-General is competent to represent the public by virtue of his position as principal law officer of the Government; that, under the statute above referred to, he is entitled to appear to represent the Crown in informations for the administration of charitable funds. The Madras Supreme Court had ruled that his right to appear was confined to matters involving pecuniary interests, and did not embrace those functions which the Attorney-General discharges for the purpose of enforcing the prerogatives belonging to the Sovereign as *parens patriæ*. The Privy Council did not agree in this opinion; they thought the Advocate-General should be as vigilant in the interest of Government as the Attorney-General is in England. In a suit for a management of a religious endowment (I. L. R. 3 Cal. 563) it was held by Garth, C. J. and Markby, J. that the Advocate-General is not a necessary party to such suits, though, such suits being of a public character, it is extremely desirable that they should be brought with his consent. The attention of the Court does not appear to have been drawn to the case reported in 9 Moore I. A. 387.

Having regard to the peculiarities and exigencies of Indian administration, it seems highly desirable that the Advocate-General should be a whole-time officer, that is, that his whole time

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* *Pogose* v. *Pogose*, 25th Nov. 1835; Mor. 282.
† *The Martin Case*. 10th May 1836; 1 Fulton 257.
‡ 4 Moore I. A. 190; 9 Moore I. A. 387.

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should be at the disposal of the Crown. It is impossible to over-estimate the amount of money which an able and vigilant Advocate-General might save or gain for Government. The appointment of a barrister civilian has before now been advocated. Such an officer would devote his whole time and energies to the interests of Government to the immense advantage of the administration in general and of the revenue in particular. But the objections to such an appointment are, that the Advocate-General should be the recognized leader of the bar, and as such, have weight with the profession, and that the Government should retain for the contingency of any State trials, an officer who would be able to cope with the best forensic talent employed on the other side. As to this objection, it may be answered that Government can always afford to employ the best available forensic talent.

3. *Ecclesiastical Establishments.*

The first provision for any church establishment is to be found in the Charter Act of 1813. * This Act empowered His Majesty to constitute by his Royal Letters Patent, one bishopric and three archdeaconries (for Bengal, Madras and Bombay,) and the Court of Directors were to pay them certain established salaries. The Secretary of State in Council may now † fix and alter these salaries. A single bishopric was found to be too large for one incumbent, and the Charter Act of 1833 ‡ authorized the formation of two separate bishoprics for Madras and Bombay, and the payment to the bishops of 24,000 sicca rupees per annum each, such salaries to be in lieu of all fees of office, perquisites, emoluments, or advantages whatsoever. The bishops exercise all such ecclesiastical jurisdiction and episcopal functions as are directed by the Royal Letters Patent. The Sovereign may, from time to time, vary the limits of the episcopal dioceses and of the archdeaconries. The Bishop of Calcutta is deemed to be the Metropolitan Bishop in India, and the Bishops of Madras and Bombay are subject to him, and, at the time of their appointments, have to take an oath of obedience to him. At the same time the Bishop of Calcutta is himself subject to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury. § All the expenses of the Bishop's visitations are to be paid out of the Government revenues. Archdeacons are not to receive a salary exceeding 3,000 sicca rupees per annum; and the total expense in respect of all the Bishops

* 53 Geo. III, c. 155, s. 49.
† 43 Vict., c. 3, s. 3.
‡ 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, ss. 89, 90.
§ *ib.* ss. 93, 94.

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and Archdeacons is not to exceed 120,000 sicca rupees per annum.* Two of the chaplains maintained at each Presidency are to be ministers of the Church of Scotland; and nothing is to prevent the Governor-General in Council from granting, from time to time, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, to any sect, persuasion, or community of Christians, not being of the United Church of England and Ireland, or of the Church of Scotland, such sums of money as may be expedient for the purpose of instruction, or for the maintenance of places of worship. †

The Bishops of the various dioceses have power to admit to holy orders such persons as they deem duly qualified.‡

The Bishop of Calcutta gets an outfit allowance of £1,200 (if in the United Kingdom at the time of his appointment), a salary of Rs. 3,831 Government rupees per mensem, and a pension of £1,500 after ten years' exercise of his office. If he resigns his office in consequence of illness or infirmity, he gets £1,000 a year after seven years service, or £750 after five years service. But he gets no pension if he resigns for some other cause than illness. The Bishops of Madras and Bombay get Rs. 2,133-5-4 per mensem, an outfit allowance of £500, and a pension of £800 a year after fifteeen years' exercise of their office in British India. § Archdeacons get Rs. 266-10-8 in addition to the salary of a senior chaplain, and outfit allowance of £500, and £800 pension after ten years service in British India as Archdeacon. As regards leave of absence on furlough or medical certificate, Her Majesty may make such rules from time to time as may seem to Her expedient.‖ If either the Bishop of Madras or the Bishop of Bombay acts for the Bishop of Calcutta, he is entitled to get, in addition to his salary, an additional annual allowance of Rs. 10 000 per annum ¶ As regards chaplains, the Secretary of State may, from time to time make, alter, or repeal regulations regarding them, their pay and pension.** Chaplains are not debarred from taking fees in the way of their profession only.††

It has often been urged that the Government should not maintain an established Christian Church in a country in which the large majority of the population are Hindus or Mahomedans. But it is forgotten that the Government has

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* 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 85, s. 101. † *id.* s. 102. ‡ 4 Geo. IV, c. 71, s. 6.
§ 53 Geo. III. c. 155, ss. 49, 89; 55 Geo. III, c. 155, s. 54; 4 Geo. IV, c. 71, s. 3; 6 Geo. IV, c. 85, ss. 15, 16; 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 85, ss. 89, 96. 101.
‖ 34 and 35 Vict., c. 62.
¶ 5 and 6, Vict., c. 119, s. 4.
** 4 Geo. IV, c. 71, s. 4.
†† 33 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 64.

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left revenue-free millions of acres of temple lands set apart for the service of the Hindu or Mahomedan religion, and all over the country may be found tenures known as Dewutter, Brahmotter, Pirotter, Pirpál, Boishtomotter, &c. It is only large military stations, and a few of the largest civil stations, that have chaplains attached to them. There are hundreds of small stations all over India, in which Government makes no provision whatever for the spiritual wants of the Christian community.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

[*To be continued.*]

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ART. VII.—THE VOYAGE TO INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD has unearthed, for the benefit of readers of the *Athenæum*, an interesting letter descriptive of the outfit considered necessary for an eighteenth-century lady or gentlewoman, to use the grand old-world phrase,—about to visit India. As a pendant to the picture there given of the outward voyage, from a feminine point of view, I will narrate the experiences of a "Johnny Raw" of that epoch, in the course of taking the same leap in the dark. My story is based on numerous authorities, such as the memoirs of Major David Price of the Honorable East India Company's Service, who died full of years and honours in 1835, and on a curious guide-book of a generation earlier, entitled the *East India Vade Mecum*.

Writers and cadets generally came of well-to-do and even wealthy folk; and we are told that as much as £3,000 was often paid *sub rosâ* for a nomination to the Company's Civil Service. They were still more frequently scions of Indian families; and relatives were prodigal of advice and more material assistance. For them the preparations for the voyage presented no terrors. The deft fingers of mothers and sisters were busy for months beforehand in making up the Young Hopeful's outfit. But the despised free-lance, the "interloper" in embryo, was fain to place himself in the hands of one of the outfitting firms that swarmed in the purlieus of Leadenhall Street; and might deem himself lucky if not called on to disburse £300 or more on an assortment of goods sufficient to stock a tolerably large shop. In return for the griff's patronage, the worthy tradesman undertook to "show him the ropes," which were numerous and complicated. The choice of a ship was his first care; and here he was practically restricted to the Company's fleet. For those were times when war was the rule and an armed truce the exception. To embark on a non-chartered vessel was to court capture by the French privateers which haunted the Bay of Biscay and harried our commerce in Indian seas. The Indiamen, as those splendid vessels of 1,200 or 1,500 tons were called, carried 20 to 30 guns, and crews nearly as numerous and well disciplined as those that manned His Majesty's ships of war. The authorities at the India House would, if applied to personally, furnish a list of probable sailings. March and April were

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the favourite months for leaving England. The voyage to Calcutta averaged six months in duration; and ships arriving at Madras after the beginning of October, were met in the Bay by the monsoon, and forced to stretch across to Achin Head: thus losing six weeks of the precious cold weather. Having selected a ship in this list, the intending passenger applied to the Secretary of the East India Company for a license to proceed to India, and an order directing the Captain to receive him on board. Armed with these credentials he paid a visit to the vessel of his choice at her Gravesend moorings. She would probably be the nucleus of a fleet of lighters carrying cargo and livestock in the act of being transferred to her capacious hold by sheer manual labor. In all externals she resembled a man-of-war: the same towering sides, streaked with white and bristling with two tiers of port holes: the same stern, bright with gilding, and reflecting the dancing waves in a double range of windows. To find the purser in the tumult was no easy task; and still less the negotiations for a cabin. The after-part of the vessel contained the pick of the passenger accommodation. It consisted on the upper deck, of a lofty poop, the top of which was sacred not, as at a later date, to promenade and lounge, but to the Captain's live stock. The poop contained the state-room, or Captain's cabin, an apartment 16 feet square, on the starboard side communicating by a glass door with the quarter deck—that portion of the upper deck between the poop and the mainmast. On the larboard, or as we should say port side of the poop, was the cuddy, answering most of the purposes of a saloon. Abaft was situated the round-house, which was lit by the upper tier of stern windows, and communicating with the highest of the two galleries which graced that part of the vessel. The round-house was considered the ladies' saloon; but in a very crowded vessel it was divided off into private cabins, or devoted to the baser uses of a dining room. The corresponding space on the gun-deck below was occupied by the Great Cabin, which like the round-house, gave on a gallery, and received its light from a tier of stern windows. This was the West End of the floating city, coveted by all whose purses were long enough to purchase its partial or exclusive possession. It was usually divided into eight or 10 "slips," each provided with a stern window, and measuring 14 feet by 6. In piping times of peace the interior partitions were of solid oak fitted with doors; but when the dogs of war were loose the divisions were of canvas, capable of being rolled up in a trice and fastened to the bulkhead above, when the decks were cleared for action. The round-house, when devoted to passenger accommodation, and the Great Cabin were the perquisites of the

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Captain, and a "slip" in either cost at least £250. On the homeward voyage it occasionally happened that the whole of the Great Cabin was monopolized by a Nabob who had shaken the Pagoda Tree to excellent purpose; and such persons sometimes paid £2,500 for the privilege. To passengers of moderate means the first, second and third mates, whose cabins were situated in the waist forward of the Great Cabin, were ready to cede similar slips at £4 or £5 per square foot—about £150 in all. It should be borne in mind that these terms included all messing expenses. Tenants of the Great Cabin and round-house were guests of the Captain whose table was spread in the cuddy, while those who accepted the mates' hospitality, dined at a second table in a canvas enclosure on the gundeck forward, which was supplied by subscription amongst the hosts, and, save in the matter of live stock, was as well furnished as the skipper's. Accommodation still further forward, and exposed to whiffs of villainous air from the forecastle, could be had at cheaper rates from the gunner, carpenter and the tribe of petty officers; but passengers who elected quarters there were treated much as those of the second class are now-a-days, and were cut off from the cheerful ways of the quarter-deck. Having chosen a berth to his mind, and paid a deposit of twenty-five per cent. on the fare, our griff's next operation was to furnish his cabin. His bed was a matter of the first importance; for thereon largely depended the comfort of the voyage. Long chairs were unknown, and the sight of one on his quarter-deck would have given the Captain a fit of apoplexy. Passengers usually grew heartily sick of one another's company before the voyage was half over: and as deck-lounging was not be thought of, their only escape from boredom was dozing and reading in bed. Should this blissful retreat take the guise of a swinging cot, or of a standing bed-place? The former was an oblong case of canvas, its bottom stretched over a wooden frame, its sides 18 inches deep, swinging by ropes attached to hooks screwed into the bulkheads. Few cabins were spacious enough to allow of a cot swinging freely lengthwise (query, is not this the origin of the phrase "room to swing a *cat* in"?) Sore were the bumps encountered by a recumbent frame when the good ship was rolling in a heavy swell: but on the other hand the cot minimized the motion and lulled its occupant into a sweet sleep. On the whole, however, a standing bed-place was preferable: and it was usually furnished with stout baize or shaloon curtains. A toilet service of pewter, the jug in the form of a bottle; and perchance a hanging book-shelf, completed the Spartan equipment of the cabin.

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We now come to the question of personal outfit; and in dealing with it, the novice was handicapped by the fact that Calcutta tradesmen expected exorbitant profits; and stuff of all kinds rapidly deteriorated if stored in an Indian climate. Hence he was obliged to burden himself with a wardrobe sufficient to meet the demands of several years' wear and tear. It included the following articles, which were regarded as the irreducible minimum :—

Four dozen fine stout calico shirts.
Two dozen extra superfine ditto.
Four dozen under shirts of chequered calico, made with sleeves, and reaching to the hips: contrived to pay the double debt of night shirt and undervest.
Two broad-cloth coats.
Two ditto of camlet or other light stuff.
Two pairs milled broad-cloth, or wove worsted pantaloons.
Two ditto of corduroy or "aleppine."
Two woollen waistcoats.
Two dozen ditto, and breeches to match of fine Irish linen.
One dozen pairs of worsted half stockings for wearing with the pantaloons.
Three dozen cotton half hose.
Two dozen long cotton stockings.
Half dozen short-wove cotton drawers.
Four dozen small white cotton handkerchieves with narrow border.

Thus far the outfit for board ship wear: those on the following list were to be packed separately for India.

Two best coats, with waistcoats of fine kerseymere.
Two pairs of breeches of the finest white kerseymere.
Two round hats (*i.e.*,) hats without the peculiar eighteenth century "cock."
Four pair of boots and two of shoes.

(Leather goods in India were neatly finished: but tanning was little understood, and the first wetting often reduced them to a pulp.)

Four of the largest double milled blankets were necessary for the cabin cot: and, rightly or wrongly, they were supposed to give coolness to the Indian bed if spread on its surface. Item, a dozen ell-wide sheets of fine hempen cloth, eleven feet long, with pillow-cases to match, of fine Irish linen. Further, a horse-hair mattress, 6 feet by 2, to fit the cabin cot or bed-place. Table linen and towels were the only domestic articles that were manufactured in India: but 4 dozen of the latter must be taken. The griff who made a point of personal cleanliness was advised to lay in 30 lbs. of patent soap, for use with salt water. This would also serve as a *quid pro quo* for little services on board in the matter of bed-making and boot-cleaning. Soap, strange to say, was more appreciated by the jack tar of the period than tobacco: for smoking was sternly discouraged on board the old Indiamen. A canteen

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fitted with plate for half a dozen, and knives to match: and an assortment of cutlery, including instruments for scaling the teeth, completed this heterogeneous outfit. The whole was packed in half a dozen or more leather trunks, well clamped with brass: one of which graced the cabin, while the rest were relegated to the after-hold, whence a general luggage delivery took place once a week. Having furnished his cabin and sent his heavy baggage aboard, the intending passenger left his address with the purser, who would send intimation of his departure to join the vessel after receiving the mails from the India House. Not a moment was then to be lost in travelling by mail-coach or post-chaise to Portsmouth whither the gallant vessel proceeded, on leaving the Nore, to wait for convoy. Many a career was wrecked by half an hour's delay in lingering adieus. A more unfeeling set of scoundrels existed nowhere than the boatmen who plied at our southern ports. The youngster who arrived, as many did, on the beach only to see his ship spreading her white wings to favouring breezes, got scant sympathy from these harpies. To catch the retreating vessel if she could be overhauled at all, would cost him his whole available cash, with watch, chain and jewellery thrown in. Oftener, however, the passenger found the good ship wind bound: and might encounter a weary delay of several weeks, during which he was forced to live, neither well nor cheaply, at a Portsmouth hostelry. But I will suppose him safe aboard; and the gallant fleet of which his ship is a unit weighing anchor in response to a gun from the Commodore. His depression at leaving all he loved in life was speedily conjured away by the contemplation of a spectacle such as the world will never see again. Steam has robbed navigation of half its charm by extinguishing the romance of sea life: and the finest floating palace of to-day would compare but poorly, in grace and beauty, with England's wooden walls of old. A more impressive spectacle than a great fleet under full sail cannot be conceived: and to witness it went far to compensate for the tedium of an Indian voyage. "On the memorable 15th day of March 1781," writes Major Price, whom I have already mentioned, "we finally set sail from England, and certainly the aspect and splendid sight presented to our observation is not easily to be forgotten: for we were accompanied by the grand fleet intended for the relieif of Gibraltar under Lord Howe, and by other squadrons destned for America, the West Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, and the East; comprising, as was calculated, not less than fifty sail of the line, and between two and three hundred merchant-ships and transports of the largest class. The men-of-war, from those of the first-rate to those of fifty guns and frigates,

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passing successively within biscuit-throw of the Indiamen in the narrow space between Southampton water and the north of the Isle of Wight, exhibited every moment such examples of skill and precision, as appeared almost magical in the management of their sails and yards, such, indeed, as was even then unrivalled among the nations." As the cliffs of Wight, with their crown of emerald mead, slowly receded from view, our novice turned his attention to the internal economy of his floating home. The omnipotent skipper must first be propitiated by a formal visit. Now, we have, most of us, come across specimens of the genus who entertained fully adequate notions of their own importance: but unless my readers have seen the Captain of an Indiaman in the old exclusive days on his own quarter-deck, they can from no conception of the lengths to which human pride can be carried. Tiberius in receipt of divine honours from the Roman Senate, Alexander entering Babylon in triumph, Louis XIV giving audience to a successful General in the Gallery of Mirrors, Napoleon the cynosure of a theatre full of kings at Erfurt—to these, and these alone must our skipper be compared. Wealthy almost beyond the dreams of avarice; the repository of unquestioned authority over every soul on board; *ex officio* guardian to the lady passengers: a father to unruly writers and cadets, courted by all from the Member of Council to the powder monkey, the Captain's position was one which men of far higher social rank might well have envied. "The gentlemen commanding under the auspices of the East India Company," says the awe-stricken author of the *Vade Mecum*, "are men who have seen much of the world, and who rarely fail to appreciate the marks of attention and respect that flow voluntarily from persons with whom they have dealings." Stewards were still in the rudimentary stage. The only official bearing that title on board, was the Captain's body-servant, who shared in the veneration attaching to his chief. Our griff was solemnly warned to make friends with this personage, on whose good will so much of the comfort of the voyage depended. The services rendered by the confraternity now-a-days were performed, after a fashion, by a few men and boys who were excused duty on board to enable them to attend on passengers. If this assistance failed, the mates who had not yet blossomed out into first, second, &c., officers, each had a servant who was willing, for a consideration, to clean boots, brush clothes, and empty basins. The douceur was 3 or 4 guineas, *plus* a few pounds of sea soap, or perchance "pigtail" tobacco for chewing. The next point was to ascertain the daily routine, and the unwritten code of laws which regulated board-ship life.

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The most important was one which compelled every person to touch his hat when stepping on the quarter-deck from the gun-deck or cuddy. The windward side of the sacred enclosure was reserved for passengers and superior officers, and it was a breach of etiquette to promenade elsewhere. The fragrant hookah could only be indulged in among the humours of the reeking foc'sle: and other forms of inhaling the breath of the divine weed were not permitted under any circumstances. The use of a naked light in one's cabin was an offence punishable with confinment in irons. Passengers abaft the quarter-deck were considered guests of the Captain, and had a right to seats at the cuddy-table, where, if unusually numerous, they took their meals by re-lays. At 8 A. M. the ship's bell on the forecastle gave the signal for breakfast, which consisted of excellent but milkless tea and coffee, hot rolls, biscuit, and butter of the consistency of liquid honey. The dinner hour, 2 P.M., was announced by the "Roast Beef of Old England" on the drum with fife accompaniment, which too often told a flattering tale. But youthful digestions aided by a 6 hours' fast, and the ozone-laden sea air were not disposed to be critical; and the cuddy bill of fare was wonderfully varied. For the first week or two fresh meat was given daily, the produce of carcasses shipped in port. When the supply was exhausted, the piece of resistance was a round of corned beef or a leg of salt pork of prime quality; this was balanced at the bottom of the table by a pair of fowls or ducks, or a goose from the Captain's farm-yard on the poop. Ham, tongues, potatoes, rice and preserved vegetables filled up the intervals. The first course was succeeded by a great variety of pies, puddings and custards, and these by a dessert including the thirst-provoking olive, and the preserved ginger so stimulating to the digestive organs. I am writing of days when a moderate consumption of alcohol in the guise of generous claret, or still fuller bodied port, was the exception. But on ship board, the redoubtable Captain was, for obvious reasons, disposed to check consumption. Ladies might indulge in a couple of glasses of port or Madeira at table: but ale or porter must content the sterner sex. In very hot weather, that now-extinct beverage, spruce beer, was brewed in large quantities, and served to the crew in the proportion of half a gallon a head. It should be noted that the drinking water was the produce of Father Thames, which was only partially freed from contamination by being passed through a porous medium called a drip-stone. The removal of the cloth was the signal for the ladies' departure to the round-house or the privacy of their cabins: and then decanters of port, sherry and Madeira were put about with tolerable freedom. Punch,

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too, was brewed from old arrack, and from limes hanging in nets from the stern galleries. But after two or three tours of the bottle, the Captain was wont to wish his guests good afternoon, which was accepted as a hint for an immediate break-up of the symposium. Tea, a replica of breakfast, was drunk in the cuddy at 6 P. M.: and at 9 the party re-assembled for supper. This consisted of biscuits and cheese, rasped beef, sago-soup, and lobscouse—a sort of nautical olla podrida. At 10 P. M. the vigilant quartermasters "dowsed every glim" below: and each swinging cot or standing bed-place held its inmate. The intervals between the meals were beguiled by promenades on the windward side of the quarter-deck. Here, too, youth and beauty tripped in the merry country-dance when the good ship was steady, and the shades of evening had lengthened sufficiently. Those who preferred the milder joys of music could indulge their taste in the round-house, where amateur quartettes rendered selections from Handel, Gluck, Mozart or Hayden. Sometimes a lady passenger, greatly venturing, took out a piano specially made for India by Clementi or Kirkman. In that event she was careful to enclose the precious instrument in a strong case of painted deal, with a lid which lifted on hinges exposing the keyboard. But one great resource of modern ocean travel was wanting in those remote days. Flirting was strictly against rule. All ladies, but especially the unmarried, were under the Captains' personal charge; and he tolerated no poaching on his preserves. Nature, however, worked her will. Writers and cadets sighed and struggled, not always in vain, for a glance from a bright eye, a smile from pouting lips, or more occult marks of feminine preference. Hence fierce disputes, ending often in an appeal to the last resort of eighteenth century manhood—the sword or pistol. I have read somewhere of a passenger aroused at early dawn by the report of fire-arms from the poop, on reaching which he found it the arena of a contest, conducted with all the punctilio of private warfare. But it was more usual to wait till a port of call, or the ship's destination had been reached, before settling these little affairs of honour. A well authenticated story is told of a lovely girl, whose charms had "waved hot youth to deeds of blood," and who, learning that three of her devoted admirers had determined on a combat *à outrance* when the vessel should reach the Cape, sent for them to the cabin and then addressed them—"Is it really true that you have fallen out on my account, and are going to fight when we arrive at Cape Town?" The culprits hung their heads in tell-tale silence, and she went on—"You silly, boys, why should you endanger your lives and break your mothers' hearts over such a trifle? Come, now, shake hands and make friends: and *I'll marry all*

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three of you." Which pledge the deadliness of our Calcutta climate a hundred years ago enabled her to fulfil to the letter.

A welcome relief was found in fishing during the frequent calms which rendered the monotony of sea life still more deadly. Every ship was provided with tackle for catching sharks, consisting of an immense hook, attached to a chain and swivel, baited with 4 lbs. of fat pork, and terminating in a line of 100 yards of inch-and-a-half rope, made fast to a tackle-fall. This tempting morsel was sunk astern to a depth of 5 fathoms, and ere long the eager group of watchers perceived a luminous oviform shadow approaching it. Then a terrific jerk; and the rope ran out its full length with the speed of a rifle-ball. But the weight of the line and hook soon brought the monster under command. He was towed up to the gangway and landed by a lasso slipped over his fins, to receive his quietus from the carpenter's axe. The blue sharks then captured were often 30 feet in length: but their flesh was too much even for the iron-bound digestion of the tar of the period. Not so the brown variety, which though hardly a third of the size of his vast colleague supplied steaks much appreciated in the foc'sle. The porpoise was frequently harpooned from the bows, and his liver was esteemed an excellent substitute for pigs' fry. Dolphins and and bonetas, however, were permitted to disport themselves in peace; for their flesh swarmed with white parasites. That deadly foe to the flying fish, the albacore, succumbed to a bait rudely simulating his ordinary prey, cut from a piece of fat bacon with a feather on either side. The daily routine was also varied by an occasional deck-washing—a process which took place, not as in our modern steamers daily, but once, or at the most twice a week. This uncomfortable process was succeeded by a call to arms from the spirit-stirring drum, when all male passengers betook themselves to their appointed stations, and the crew were exercised in the use of the great guns. It happened, occasionally, that the good ship's defensive resources were put to a practical test. A strange sail is signalled to windward: and after anxiously gazing at her through his Dollond, the Captain intimates a suspicion that she is a French privateer. Doubt is changed to certainty when the white flag of old France bestrewn with golden lilies is seen to float proudly at the stranger's mizen, and a puff of grey smoke from her bow is followed by a dull report and a cannon-ball tossing up the spray as it passes a few yards astern of our Indiaman. Instantly the drum and bo'sun's whistle sound the signal to clear the ship for action. The canvas partitions between cabins are rolled by in a trice, and chests, cots, and all our passengers' little belongings are tumbled pell mell into the hold. The same

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fate is shared by the unhappy fowls and sheep upon the poop—if indeed they are not thrown overboard. Stalwart arms are at work unlashing the cannon which had been fastened securely to the bulkheads forward, and running them into position, each at its port-hole. Others are busy bringing up ammunition from the magazine, and distributing muskets, cutlasses and boarding-pikes which had stood in racks surrounding the masts below. In less time than it takes to pen these lines every gun has its crew, and its Captain stands with lighted port fire awaiting the signal for a broadside. Meantime the passengers have not been idle. To the military officers are assigned commands on the poop, forecastle and waist, and every one else capable of bearing armament betakes himself to his appointed station with a musket and cartouch-box of ball cartridge, where he must consider himself for the nonce a marine. The non-combatants, including only ladies and the sick, are handed down into the cockpit, a gloomy dungeon below the water line, which in less stirring times is the abode of the midshipmen. Here they are huddled like chickens when the hawk is soaring overhead, gazing with ill-concealed terror on the amputating table which stands ready for the fray, with its rows of knives, saws, and bandages revealed by the fitful gleam of divers lanterns dimly burning. Here are the brisk Scotch surgeon and his mate with up-turned sleeves, and lappets bristling with suture-needles. And now the bustle overhead is followed by a death-like silence—the lull before the storm which shall lay many a goodly tree low. But hark, a distant thunder-peal, followed by the crash of timber, the shrieks of human beings in dire distress! These are speedily drowned by a deafening cheer, and in an instant the stout ship reels with the shocks of two broadsides in quick succession. I will draw a veil over the scenes of which the cockpit must now be the theatre. Lucky, indeed, will its helpless inmates be, if they escape the inroad of a cannon-ball between wind and water as the good ship rolls and exposes her burnished flank. Hardly less fortunate will they deem themselves, if they escape the humiliation of capture, which means the loss of all their belongings, and long years of detention in a French prison. A tardy justice has been done to the age which is styled the Great Century: but the admiration with which our great grandfathers inspire us does not extend to their methods of travel. Few of my readers would exchange the ease and luxury of their eighteen days' trip to India, for the dulness long drawn-out of the old Cape route, even if its monotony were broken by a naval engagement.

F. H. SKRINE.

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ART. VIII.—INDIAN VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATION.

THE sanction given by the Government of India last year for the formation of the long talked of Volunteer Reserves has apparently had the effect of bringing the whole Vounteer question more prominently to the notice of the Anglo-Indian public. In the July number of the *Calcutta Review* appears an ably written article on the "Auxiliary Forces in India," the author of which explains the important part our Indian Volunteers are expected to take in case of a Russian invasion, as the protectors of life and property in such districts as might be denuded of regular troops. He laments the weakness of the existing Volunteer Force in spite of the excellent material available in every part of the country, and expresses an opinion that the recently introduced Volunteer Reserve Scheme will eventually prove to be a remedy for the evil, though he admits that it will give us a force less efficiently trained than that which we now possess.

The Volunteer question has also been treated of in the essays of competitors for the gold medal of the United Service Institution of India, the subject of which was, "The Organization of Europeans and Eurasians (including Volunteers) as an Auxiliary Force." The writer of the prize essay, Captain Beauchamp Duff, advocates the introduction of compulsory service for all who are not Volunteers, and it may be assumed that if this were ever done, there would no longer be any Volunteer question to discuss, for practically whatever name the force might retain, there would be no real Volunteers left in the country. But believing as we do that Government can scarcely be contemplating such a serious step, at all events for the present, it is worth while examining the existing condition of the Volunteer force and considering how it may be improved.

The arguments of the writer in the *Calcutta Review* which are, roughly speaking, in favour of numbers at the expense of efficiency, are doubtless stong enough from one point of view. We know what excellent service entirely untrained men were able to perform during the Mutiny, and the present reserve organization, by providing every man with arms and equipment, and allotting him recognised duties either in the ranks or as an officer or non-commissioned officer, will, if it prove successful, be a distinct advance on the state of affairs then

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existing, It will give us, in fact, that "framework of order" which Napier, speaking of the Spanish urban militia at the time of the French invasion of the Peninsula, declares to have been so useful in a sudden crisis. But even at the time of the Mutiny the want of training was distinctly felt, and our present Volunteer force may be regarded as an attempt to supply that want. Nobody supposes that volunteers are the only class besides regular soldiers who are willing to fight in defence of their country; but they are the only class who recognize the necessity for training themselves to that end, and hence it may be said, that the first and most important object of a Volunteer force is not numbers, or even organization, but training.

It is admitted that the weak point of the new reserve scheme is, that the amount of training its members are required to undergo is far from sufficient. It would be trying the patience of the reader too severely, to enumerate even briefly the whole of the conditions of service in the Reserve; but practically they amount to this, that though the Government encourages a reservist to learn his drill, and to keep up a knowledge of it when learnt, it does not require him to do so in order to be called by the magic name of "efficient," or to earn the capitation grant. All that is necessary is to fire fifteen rounds of ammunition in the course of the year and make six hits on a target four feet square, and we may assume that, except among the more enthusiastic, this is all that will be done. After all it is natural for men to suppose that what is laid down by Government as a sufficient qualification must be all that is worth troubling about. It will scarcely be maintained, even by the most sanguine admirers of the system, that under such easy conditions of service, the force will be all that can be desired, or even all that we have a right to expect, considering the excellent material available and the importance of the service it may at any time be called on to perform.

On the other hand it cannot be expected that active volunteers and reserve volunteers will continue under the present regulations to exist side by side, giving their services with equal freedom and for the same object, and differing only as to the amount of time and trouble they are required to devote to their volunteer duties. Putting out of the question some few of the special corps, cavalry and artillery, who may be able to hold their own, it is almost inevitable that as soon as the reserve scheme is in full working order, and it becomes generally known that in joining the Reserves a man is doing all that Government expects of him as regards his duty to his country, we shall find the main body of the active corps dwindling

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away, until eventually the reserves will be the only class of infantry volunteers remaining.

Of course if it could be proved that there was no other way of obtaining the services of the large number of men now untrained, this state of things would have to be accepted; but so far from believing it to be proved, there are many considerations which lead us to think, that by the issue of a few definite rules dealing with the Volunteer question in a liberal spirit (by liberal we do not necessarily infer financial outlay,) the Government might have a force of Volunteers of equal, if not superior efficiency to that which now exists, and comprising, with its reserves, the whole or nearly the whole of the European and Eurasian able-bodied male population.

We will now endeavour to give a few hints as to how this might be accomplished, though aware that any such scheme must contain many defects which can only be removed after those best qualified to judge have been able to pronounce an opinion upon it, and when the scheme itself has been given a fair trial.

We have just seen that one result of the present reserve system will probably be the gradual disappearance of the active infantry volunteer and in some cases, where separate reserve battalions have been organised, the old-established corps must, in course of time, die a natural death. In others, where the reserves form part of the active corps, the old name may of course be kept up, but in any case there will be a radical change in the whole constitution of the force, and a breaking up of its traditions. It cannot be said that questions of sentiment are of as great importance amongst volunteers as in the regular army, but at the same time a considerable feeling of enthusiasm exists amonst the keenest and best volunteers for the corps to which they belong, especially when it has been established for any length of time. It seems a pity that some advantage should not be taken of this feeling, and we shall endeavour to base our scheme upon the idea that existing Volunteer corps, and even in many instances companies are to be improved and developed rather than that new ones should be organized.

The writer of the article in the July number estimates the total number of volunteers in the country at about 15,000 in all, of whom some 13,000 are efficient; but, judging from the particulars given in the Army Lists of the three Presidencies for the current quarter, this estimate is a good deal short of the mark. In the Bengal and Madras Army Lists actual figures are given, and for Bombay an approximate estimate may be made by taking as a guide the number of officers of the various ranks, a fixed proportion of officers being allowed by regulation

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in each corps according to its strength. This calculation gives the following results :—

Approximate number of enrolled Volunteers in India.

Cavalry	1,000
Artillery (naval 200, garrison 550) ...	750
Mounted infantry	500
Infantry (Railway corps 6,300, other corps 9,000, cadets 1,500)	16.800
Total ...	19,050

Of these, probably at least 10 per cent. are "non-efficient," that is, they have failed to complete the necessary drills and musketry to earn the capitation grant for the year, owing to sickness, absence, or other causes ; but as almost every one of them has been exercised at least once previously, we are justified in including them in the total number of trained men. It must also be remembered, that year by year large numbers of men resign at the close of the drill season and are replaced by others. Of those who resign some few quit the country or become incapacitated for further service, and some are transferred to other corps, but a large number cease to be volunteers, either because their civil duties do not allow them enough leisure, or merely because they have, so to speak, been through the mill, and consider, fairly enough, that having acquired a sufficient knowledge of military training to enable them to turn out and do their duty in case of an emergency, they have done all that is required of them. The few who remain for any length of time on the rolls are the enthusiastic volunteers and crack rifle shots, who look upon volunteering as a means of recreation as well as well as a duty, and these men are to be found for the most part in the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks of the force. It may, therefore, be assumed that in addition to the 19,000 men now serving in active corps, there are at least half as many more who have passed through the ranks, and who would be fit and willing to rejoin when wanted, provided the necessary arms and equipment were forthcoming. It is these men chiefly who are now coming forward and enrolling themselves in the reserves, as a reference to the recently issued report of the Presidency Reserve battalion in Calcutta will show. It is there stated that no less than 85 per cent. of the members of the battalion, which is about 450 strong, have seen previous service in either the regular army or the volunteers. Still there remain many men who are not, and have never been volunteers at all, and the problem before us is to devise some scheme by which these men may be induced, not only to

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register their names as willing to serve if called upon, but to undergo some training both in drill and the use of the rifle, and this must be done without either extra expense to Government, or the adoption of any thing in the shape of compulsory service.

It must be understood clearly that the important point is that every able-bodied man in the country should be willing to turn out when wanted, armed, equipped, and trained, rather than that any very large number of men should be undergoing training at any one time. Far too much stress is, as a rule, laid upon this last point. Numbers alone are regarded as the sole evidence of progress, and a corps which has ten men more on its rolls than it had the previous year is thought to have done better than one which has ten men less, even though the latter may have enrolled and trained during the season a far larger number of recruits to fill the places of resigned members.

As has just been pointed out, our existing active volunteer corps are, to a certain extent, training depôts, each with its permanent staff and complement of officers and non-commissioned officers, but as regards the rank and file, ever fluctuating and ever changing, as men come and go, join or resign. In this respect an Indian volunteer corps resembles a German or French battalion in time of peace far more than an English regiment even under the short service system. The continental idea appears to be that, if a man is once thoroughly trained as a recruit, he may be allowed to go into civil life for a number of years though still nominally a soldier and liable to be called out for service, and that he will not forget the more important points of what he has learnt. Could this system be applied with the necessary modifications to our Indian Volunteers, one of the chief defects of our present organization would disappear. The first essential is that every man should be trained as thoroughly as possible when first enrolled, and it is with regard to this point that the present reserve system is so defective. Of course, if it were contemplated that only old soldiers and voluuteers were to join the reserves, the special recruits training might be wholly or partially dispensed with ; but seeing that they are open also to untrained men, and that the latter are exactly the class whose services it is sought to gain, we are justified in attempting to suggest some alterations and improvements.

We consider, then, that the necessity for the adequate training of all recruits should be fully recognized by Government, and should be carried out under well defined rules, and at a fixed season of the year, and limited to the shortest time in which it could be accomplished satisfactorily. Under the

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present system a large number of eligible men hang back and do not enrol, because they hardly know what is expected of them. They consider that if they are to be volunteers at all, they must go in for it thoroughly, and try to make themselves really useful, but in the absence of any exact definition of the amount of training necessary to gain this object, they fear that the calls upon their time may be too heavy, and they therefore decide to leave it alone altogether. The introduction of the limited training described above would, it is hoped, obviate this difficulty. Camps might be formed in every volunteer centre for the convenience of members residing at a distance, and for the benefit of all who chose to take advantage of them. In camp and under arms strict discipline would be maintained, while every facility for getting away during the hours when training was not actually going on would be given to those who had their ordinary business to look after. Camps of this description are already held by several corps in India, more especially by the cavalry corps composed for the most part of planters. They are, as a rule, very successful, and only require a stricter enforcement of discipline, and a practical code of instructions as to what the training is to consist of, and how it is to be carried out, to make them all that could be desired.

Having once undergone this training, it would be optional for a man to continue an active member of a corps, and perform periodical drills and exercises, or to join the reserve. In the latter case he would still continue to belong to the same corps, troop, battery, or company with which he had been trained, and would retain the arms, accoutrements, and uniform originally issued to him, but would be excused all drills for three years, and be required merely to perform annually a modified course of target practice such as that now laid down for reservists. His arms and accoutrements would be given up each year at the commencement of the hot weather, and re-drawn when required for the annual course of musketry. At the close of the third year he would again have to attend a camp and go through a short training with the active corps, which might be considerably modified in the case of those who had not forgotten what they had been previously taught. The reservist would then be exempted for three years more, and so on until he reached forty years of age, when training would cease, except for those who wished to continue it, but all would remain liable to be called out in an emergency. Those who elected to remain active volunteers would continue to be drilled and exercised both at the annual camps and on such other special occasions as might be thought desirable.

It may be argued that this system has the same defect as that now in force, namely, that there are two standards of

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efficiency, one for the active volunteer and another for the reservist, and that the easier standard would universally be selected. But the active corps must continue to exist, and even to flourish, because every man must belong to an active corps during his first annual training, and the prospect of always being able to secure a full complement of men would be an inducement to officers and non-commissioned officers to stick to their posts. Even supposing that the whole of each annual levy were to join the reserve after its first training, its members would still have had the advantage of being more thoroughly grounded in the rudiments of drill and musketry, and the further successive trainings, at intervals of three years, would serve to keep them up to the mark.

On the other hand by allowing reservists to continue to belong to active corps of their own branch of the service, and giving them every facility to turn out for exercise when they felt inclined, a much greater inducement would be offered to them to keep up their knowledge of military duties than under the present rules, by which they will become a class apart, so to speak, usually with separate parade grounds and rifle ranges and a separate staff of instructors.

In railway corps, owing to the impossibility of allowing any large number of men to be off duty at the same time, a different system would be necessary. The duties of railway volunteers must always be of a special nature, connected with the defence of the line to which they belong, and they would probably be required to act in small detachments and in isolated situations, where the experience of the numerous old soldiers they contain would be invaluable. A knowledge of this kind of work can hardly be acquired at an ordinary camp of exercise, but still such of them as could attend camps would be all the better for it. To attach reservists to railway corps would scarcely serve any useful purpose, except such men as remained in railway employment. All others would be attached to the infantry corps nearest their place of residence.

The question of uniform is one which affects the progress of volunteering far more than might at first be supposed. The present plan allows each volunteer corps to choose the colour and pattern of its uniform, subject to the approval of Government, and the consequence is, that sarcely two corps in India will be found dressed alike. Besides this, the whole of the members of a corps are seldom unanimous in favour of any one pattern, and those who are in the minority are naturally disgusted at not getting what they want. In some corps the uniform of the officers is so expensive as to deter men otherwise ready to serve from accepting commissions; while in other cases a dislike for the colour and pattern selected

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has the same effect. To avoid all this Government should insist upon all infantry corps providing themselves with khaki drill uniorm of the field service pattern. This should be paid for out of the Government grant, and would, in most corps, be found sufficient for all purposes, though those who wished might be allowed to add a serge dress of the same colour, provided the necessary outlay could be met without the expenditure of money intended to be devoted to more essential needs. The possession of uniform of the same pattern and colour would greatly facilitate the transfer of men from one corps to another on change of station, and would enable detachments of various corps to meet together, as at the camp of exercise at Delhi in 1886, without any marked incongruity of appearance. Uniform so cheap and serviceable could be kept up by reserve men without difficulty, and would enable them to turn out on parade with the active corps whenever they wished.

Another important point is the formation of a branch of the Adjutant-General's department at head-quarters for the special consideration of volunteer matters. Its head should be an officer of experience, who would look after the interests of volunteering in the same manner that the head of the musketry department looks after his special branch. The advantages the force would derive from the existence of such an officer are so obvious, and have been so frequently pointed out by previous writers, that there is no need to enlarge upon them here.

The next consideration is whether it would be advisable to make any direct concession to the volunteer, such, for instance, as exemption from the income-tax. This proposition has frequently been raised both in the press and amongst volunteers themselves, but has hitherto met with no response from Government, probably for financial reasons. There is no doubt that such a substantial concession would do much to increase the popularity of the force, but on the other hand it has been argued that it would tend to destroy its stricly voluntary character. This last view need not, we think, be seriously considered. Only the smaller incomes would be entirely exempt, a fixed sum being deducted from those above the limit before calculating the amount they were to be taxed. The sum thus saved would be scarcely larger than the actual expenditure every volunteer has to incur, and the concession would be looked upon as an acknowledgement of the value of the service rendered. It must be remembered that though there is no lack of high-flown language in praise of the volunteer movement both from officials and from the press, yet the individual member receives absolutely no substantial benefit in return for

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his services, unless he be among the lucky few who figure regularly in the list of prize-winners at rifle meetings. Exemption would only be claimable by active volunteers for the years in which they actually made themselves efficient. Bearing in mind that we are pledged not to involve Government in extra expense, it would be necessary to impose a small tax (which might fitly be called 'exemption tax') on all who were not volunteers, the amount realized from which would counterbalance the diminished revenue from the income-tax. To facilitate a proper and reliable record being kept of each man's services, every volunteer should be provided with a small book, similar to those in use in the German army, containing full particulars as to the date of his enrolment, age, height, profession, and amount of training performed, with the signature of the officer superintending it. This book would have to be seen and signed annually by the commandant or adjutant of his corps, the details of his training and musketry being duly entered. It would be retained in the volunteer's possession, and produced by him as a voucher in support of his claim to exemption from taxation.

There are many other details which can scarcely find a place in a short article, but which would at once suggest themselves were the system to be given a trial.

There is another question which has been freely discussed lately, and though strictly speaking, not connected with volunteer organization, yet since it affects the class from which the majority of Indian volunteers are drawn, and would, if it ever gets beyond the stage of mere discussion, seriously affect the numbers available for enrolment, we may make some allusion to it here. It is that of the formation of regular Eurasian regiments. The principal advantage claimed for this project is the saving to Government which could be effected if regiments permanently quartered in India, and paid and pensioned in Indian currency, could be made to take the place of battalions brought out from England. Much has been said in praise of the Eurasian as a soldier, and it has also been urged that Government is in duty bound to provide some employment for the poorer class of Eurasians who find themselves more and more left out in the cold as the spread of education enables natives to come into competition with them for subordinate appointments in every branch of the public service. Without wishing in any way to deny that these claims are worthy of due consideration, it scarcely seems advisable to use them as an argument in favour of the formation of Eurasian regiments, a question which should be regarded solely from the point of view of economy and military efficiency. In his work on the British Army, Sir Charles Dilke strongly

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advocates the organization of a local Indian Army, to be composed of long service men enlisted under different conditions from those of the home army, and he states that both Lord Wolseley and Sir F. Roberts, though they do not actually support this view, consider that foreign service men should be enlisted for a longer term than those for service in the United Kingdom. Now if a local Indian army were ever to be raised, it is likely that Eurasians who were capable of passing the ordinary physical tests would be admitted to its ranks. No invidious race or class distinctions need then be raised, and the Indian Government would secure a substantial addition to its army at a very economical rate, as there would be a large saving on the cost of transport to and from England of the men and their families. In other respects it could not but have a beneficial effect in binding together the whole English-speaking race in India, and in showing our enemies that Europeans and Eurasians could serve side by side in the regular army in the same way that they now do in the volunteers. No scheme for the raising of purely Eurasian regiments would be so satisfactory as this, and indeed, the practical difficulties in the way of any such scheme are so great, as to make it very doubtful whether it can ever be taken into serious consideration.

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ART IX.—THEOLATRY AND ANTHROPOLATRY: * OR A CHRISTIAN'S VIEW OF POSITIVISM.

PART V.

The Completeness of the at-one-ment.

"——God's greatness
Flows around our incompleteness
Round our restlessness His rest."

(48.) THE progress in apprehension of the glory of God which has gone on from the time of Moses to the present day, renders it inevitable that a very difficult question—one of tremendous import to the future of Christianity—should be fairly faced: namely, what was the stage of that progress in His mind who called himself emphatically the 'Son of Man.' How far had the intuition derived from His perfect love and faith carried him beyond the ideas of His age towards apprehension of His own Divinity? That He knew who He was appears from His own statements, but the question is, how far He apprehended, in the flesh, His own glory, when not veiled by the flesh. The child knows that he will be man; he knows that he and his father are one, but he cannot conceive of his own feelings in his coming manhood. None of us can, in the slightest degree, conceive of ourselves in our future state; we only know as a fact that we shall be like Him who is the "express image of God's person," being "transformed into the "same image from glory to glory."

If the man Jesus was not actual man of his species—though a new type, a new development in the chain of evolution, produced by a new method from that individual of the ordinary type from whom He derived His human nature: if in that man the Godhead was not veiled in the flesh: if He was not the same (with the essential difference of possessing in perfection the faculties of Love and Faith) as the other members of the *genus homo* among whom He lived: if, in fact, "in the days of His flesh" He did not share the disabilities of the flesh: then the difficulty of reception of Christian belief by the human consciousness of the present day is fearfully intensified.

But if we can see one not yet rejoined to His Father and our Father, to His God and our God: if we can see in Him,

* Continued from No. CLXXVII for July 1889, p. 195.

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while in the days of His flesh, an actual human being who learned obedience by suffering (Hebrews, v. 8), whose humanity needed to be "made perfect;" Hebrews, v. 9*) a very man of the *genus homo*, "in all things made like unto His brethren" (Hebrews II. 17)—although a new type, in virtue of the perfect faculties of Love and Faith which are wanting in the ordinary type: if, in short, we can see *a man* who, notwithstanding the intuition afforded by His perfect love and faith, was debarred by the inadequacy of human expression, and the incapacity of human comprehension in his hearers, from conveying the results of that intuition otherwise than by means of the knowledge, the ideas, and the experience of His day: then we shall understand that He addressed His hearers "after the manner of men," and conveyed to them the results of His intuition "as they were able to hear it." And then the difficulty in reconciling His reported teaching with the knowledge afforded by the Spirit of Truth, which He has since sent us, will in a great measure disappear.

(49.) It is needless to go over ground already traversed on the subject of the authenticity of the existing canon of Scripture; the degree of inspiration of what is authentic therein; the fact that such inspiration was, after all, breathed into "earthen vessels," and that, consequently, truth was delivered to man in a manner necessarily imperfect, from the imperfection of the channels employed; and, finally, the evidently progressive nature of revelation. All these arguments are already in course of acceptance by Christians in the case of utterances attributed to Prophets and Apostles. Many are disposed to admit that what is represented to have been said by St. Paul regarding the fall of man is mistaken; that as in fact man has not fallen, but has risen by evolution, Paul only spoke according to the ideas of his time; that even had he known better it would have been vain to allude to truth beyond the conception of his hearers—as appears in the case of that allusion of the Master's which one of the foremost Jews of the day was incapable of comprehending—and therefore it was needless for the Spirit of Truth to give Paul that higher knowledge that death did not, as was supposed, come by the transgression of one man.

So far Christians will perhaps go; but the mind of man shrinks from applying criticism to the reported utterances of the Master. And yet it is inevitable that this should be done; it is vital to the cause that no misapprehension of the strong terms used by a teacher of the first century to a stiffnecked and stubborn generation, should obscure the fact that "God was

* See also Hebrews II 10.

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in Christ, reconciling the World into himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them." If men are to be drawn by love (and they can be drawn in no other way) it is by comprehending that "God is Love." That Supreme Central Force of the Universe is of course irresistible. As exhibited in the Son of Man, its final attraction of all things into itself is as certain as the fact announced by Mayer, by Sir W. Thomson, by Tyndall, and now accepted by all physicists, that the sun must so absorb the entire solar system;—"I, if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto me." But the consummation daily prayed for by Christians, "Thy Kingdom come," may be retarded. There is in Nature a force of repulsion as well as that of attraction—something which keeps apart the molecules of iron, as well as those larger molecules,—the sun and his planets. Mistaken views of the Gospel message have hitherto been among the causes strongly opposing the attraction of Love.

(50.) Evidently there must be repulsion, not attraction, in a conception of God which presents Him as partial, as arbitrary, as other than *perfect* love. If any Church should tell the world that its share in the work of Jesus depends on men's acceptance of Jesus, that such acceptance depends on God's drawing them to Jesus, that He is Almighty to draw them if He pleases, that the vast majority will not be so drawn, and will not therefore share in the completed work of Jesus—then necessarily the World will say "this is an hard saying, who can hear it." Now according to the Gospel message, as at present understood by many Christians, the man Jesus is represented as declaring His intention of renouncing a large proportion of those whom He came to save. He is represented as saying again and again that no one can come to Him unless the Father draws him, and that He will refuse a share in His completed work, in His perfection, to all who are not so drawn: that "without me ye can do nothing;" that "the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost;" and yet that He came "that they which see might be made blind," and that He will say to such "I know not whence you are; depart from me all ye workers of iniquity." Humanity staggers before the contradictions implied in the accepted sense of these reported utterances. That we are all "Gods, all of us children of the Most High:" that "it is His good pleasure to give us the kingdom:" that an Incarnation of the Most High has appeared on earth as a new type among these children, to fit them for this kingdom, to complete for them a perfection to which in ordinary course they cannot attain, by a voluntary obedience to the means of perfection, of which sublime obedience they are not capable:—and yet that so tremendous an achievement

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should have so inadequate a result; that it should fail of result in the case of the vast majority of those in whose interest it was undertaken: this is not consonant with that reason which God has given to His children wherewith to find Him, a reason to which He Himself and His Incarnation are represented as constantly appealing.

(51.) Doubtless we are told that reason alone is inadequate; that these things are revealed "not to the wise and prudent but to babes." Child-like trust and faith can alone lay hold of God. But trust and faith are just the faculties which see that "God is Love;" that He is Father; that the ideal perfection of fatherly love is incapable of partiality; that the Divine Father is incapable, as is His faint human copy, of resting content while one child of His remains estranged and unhappy; that the Supreme Central Force of Love must draw *all* into the unity of the person of that new type in whom the obedience and perfection of all is achieved.

(52.) God has now, for His own wise purposes, released the minds of men from the bondage of tradition, and has set them in every direction working towards the knowledge of Him, by the light of the reason which He has given them, and by the revelations of Himself in nature which he is vouchsafing to them. There is, in the hitherto accepted sense of our Lord's reported utterances, much which is discordant with the knowledge thus obtained. To insist on those utterances as divine revelation, in the accepted sense of them, is contrary to the whole tenor of subsequent revelation. It renders Christianity, as apparently hitherto understood by most churches, impossible of acceptance by men to whom Divine light has rendered the idea of their own selection for happiness, while the majority of their fellows are rejected, utterly incompatible with the Divine love revealed on the cross; and also with the love towards their fellows which is their share of the Divine nature.

The Master knowing that humanity which He had put on, represents even Dives as yearning towards his brethren in the midst of his own suffering. If then, it may be assumed that Jesus spoke as a Jew of the first century to Jews of that time, and that His apostles wrote according to the lights of that age; and also that there must be much imperfection in the record of what He spoke and of what they wrote: if it may be further assumed that the promised Spirit of Truth is leading us, by the progressive revelation of God's greatness vouchsafed in the observed method of His works; and that reason is given to us for the purpose of discovering Him by analogy and induction from these observations: if the key-note of the "good tidings of

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great joy" is that God is Love, and that He was incarnate to manifest that love—not "to destroy men's lives but to save them:" then the force of repulsion existing only in old dark views suitable to dark ages must give way to the attraction of love.

(53) The whole creation, we are told, groans and travails under the weight of its imperfection. We see all nature struggling towards perfection as plants towards the light. When the law, and the method, of release from imperfection are understood, all room for boasting is taken away—"it is excluded by the law of faith." The tree cannot reproach the stone for not having yet attained its own stage of development, nor the saint the sinner.

As said by H. G. Atkinson (in his letters on the Laws of man's nature, written conjointly with Harriet Martineau)—"Knowledge sees good in evil and the working of general laws for the general good, and sees no more sin in a crooked disposition than in a crooked stick in the water, or in a humpback or a squint." "The creature," we are told, "was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope"—namely, the hope of the perfection which, in course of evolution, is achieved by the creature in its epitome the man Jesus. Not only the creature in general, says Paul, but even those who have attained the commencement of the last stage of evolution in the 'new birth,' "which have the first fruits of the Spirit"—even they "groan within themselves waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body," or its completion of that last stage. Sin or imperfection is thus a matter of degree, and the difference of degree in the present stage of evolution is very trifling. "In the flesh dwelleth no good thing"—this all know and feel; but that perfection may eventually be attained can be inferred from the progress visible in the past course of evolution. Thus the revelation of the method of perfection given to us in the 'Good Tidings' comes to prepared minds, if that revelation be not marred by adherence to old mistaken conceptions of its tenor. To limit the efficacy of the method is to contradict analogy and to defeat the acceptance of the revelation. To do so is to oppose a force of repulsion to the attraction of the force of Love.

(54) This method is evidently that incorporation with the man Jesus, and the at-one-ment thereby with the Central Love, which the Jews so grossly misunderstood when He told them that they must eat His flesh and drink His blood. 'As He lives by the Father, so he that eateth Him, even he shall live by Him.' How better can incorporation be signified? And it is evidently only by incorporation with Him that Jesus' achievement of the last stage of evolution becomes our achievement.

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There is, we are told, "a natural body; and there is a spiritual body" and this is consonant with the reason of all but those who hold with Büchner that the spirit must cease to exist with the dissolution of the brain which is its material substratum! We can understand that those procreated by the natural body are part of that body; and, similarly, those incorporate by the 'new birth' with the spiritual body of the man Jesus. This is evidently no more in man's power than his natural birth. Hitherto it has been assumed that the 'new birth' is attained only by individuals—that, as the bulk of seed falls apparently sterile, individuals only achieving germination, so the bulk of mankind must fail of the 'new birth.' But in the light of the revelation of nature we begin to see that nothing falls sterile, nothing perishes, and that apparent failure is only renewal of the effort towards development.

(55.) "The law of conservation" writes Professor Tyndall, "rigidly excludes both creation and annihilation." This does not of course exclude communication with the outer or unseen Universe. Life, for example, has to come from without, to permit of development of the inorganic into the organic kingdom. The law stated refers, evidently, to creation and annihilation in the Universe evident to our perceptions. According to this law nothing new is created in nature, since God first created matter, organised forces, and prescribed laws—and similarly there is no waste, no failure, no abrogation of these, only constant flux and reflux, action and counteraction, modification and control of matter, forces and laws among themselves. Nothing in nature fails or perishes, and it is inconceivable that man only should be an exception to this law, should be liable to fail and perish. There can be no question of rejection, or exception from this law, as *punishment*, for there is no crime for which to punish. Conformity to type cannot be produced by the matter, but only by the type itself. The embryo cannot fashion itself, and it is Christ who makes the Christian. As St. Paul says, "It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure." Rejection, then, can only be a process of the evolution leading up to the new type Jesus Christ—not punishment for nonconformity to that type. Like the rejection which takes place in physical evolution it must be understood to be only postponement. Thus the analogy of God's methods in the Universe points to the same conclusion as that reached by the intuition of love:—scientific observation supports the inference drawn by faith's sure grasp of the truth that God is love; namely, that "in the dispensation of the fulness of time He will gather together in one *all* things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are in earth."

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(56.)—Such was the view indicated thirty years since by the Revd. Charles Kingsley, in his novel, "Two years ago," and such are the views of many of the clergy of the present day. Moreover, the creed of the early church, still held by that of Rome, agrees in this matter with the revelation of nature. If the parable of Dives was intended as revelation; if the man Jesus, with the intuition of perfect love and faith, grasped truths which the dullness of His audience debarred Him from conveying save by indications, then the indication in this parable may be taken in support of the creed of ultimate universal perfection and unity with Christ.

That hypothesis better reconciles the contradiction between the accepted sense of the utterances of Jesus, and the light of reason and of subsequent revelation, than does the supposition that the intuition of perfect love and faith did not suffice to guide that man into all truth. One or other of these hypotheses must at any rate be admitted, for the doctrine of eternal damnation of the many is fatal to the acceptance of the Christian faith. If, however, we see in Dives a nature yet Divine in love towards his brethren, but laden with imperfection which is being made perfect in suffering, purified in the fire of affliction, groaning and travailing in the pain of its incompleteness,—which is the sense of the belief in purgatory when divested of gross materialism—then this is in accordance with Divine Law as inferred from revelation and observation. Then rejection, such as announced by the Lord Jesus, in the only terms which his hearers could understand, is the rejection exercised before our eyes in natural selection. Such rejection occurs in nature again and again, and again and again the rejected rise like Antœus, and like Jacob they finally achieve success.

PART VI.

The Decay of Belief.

Now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face. Now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.

(57.) The train of thought pursued in the preceding chapters arose from perusal of a book entitled 'The Service of Man,' or 'an essay towards the Religion of the Future,' by Mr. Morison, which has already passed through three editions. Mr. Vincent Tymms says in the introduction to his 'Mystery of God,' that in dealing with critical objections he has "borne in mind a secret whispered to me by a distinguished Queen's Counsel, who said 'I win my cases by admissions.' A full review of Christian controversy would show that more damage has been done to faith by indiscreet contentions for dubious and non-essential points, than by any hostile attacks." The popularity of such

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works as Mr. Morison's emphasises what has been before said regarding the duty of presenting Christianity before the world in a form more consonant with God's progressive revelation of Himself. Harm enough has already been done in resisting light; and writers like the Duke of Argyll, Professor Drummond, and Mr. Vincent Tymm, have performed inestimable service to the Great Cause in brushing aside the crudities of certain schools of theology. "It is more necessary for us" writes the latter, "to be active than to be orthodox. To be orthodox is what we wish to be, but we can only truly reach it by being honest, by being original, by seeing with our own eyes, by believing with our own heart."

(58.)—It is evidently absurd for our church, as for any other, to maintain the contention that, "orthodoxy is my doxy and heterdoxy is every body else's doxy." The Master has promised us that we shall know the truth and the truth shall make us free; and this can only be if we, according to His invitation, search the Scriptures, with prayerful confidence in the Spirit which shall guide us into all truth. Much of the force of the objections to Christianity has of course arisen from obstinate defence by Churches of positions which have eventually proved indefensible. Much has also arisen from non-recognition of the relation of Science to Christianity; which relation Professor Drummond has arisen, a second Butler, to demonstrate. It is moreover evident that these objections also derive in part their force from failure to recognise sin as disease and imperfection; suffering as its cure; Faith as a force; intuition as a faculty; the 'new birth' as a process of evolution; the conservation and transformation of energy as applicable to human failures equally with all other failures in nature; and the power of Love as a Law—as indeed the Supreme Law. It is this aspect of Christianity which the present essay attempts to bring forward.

(59.)—Of the harm that has been done by the dogmatic teaching of some churches, and the world's acceptance of dogma without investigation, the popularity of work so poor as Mr. Morison's is painful evidence. Of its poverty readers can judge from the references which will now be made to his book. Mr. Morison appeals to the analogy of nature as showing that all creeds, including that of Christianity, must eventually disappear. He regards as the common law of all life "growth, decay and death." He fails to perceive—what the earliest Egyptian records show to have been understood two thousand year before Christ—that this is not the end of the law, but that decay and death are merely means of renewal and progress. Under the same misapprehension he argues that even Truth, if there is such a thing, exists but for a time. He asks—"Can we

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consistently say the propositions of Euclid existed in the Carboniferous era? If so, why not assert that all the truths yet to be discovered in the remote future exist at present?" Few probably will fail to answer both questions in the affirmative. The whole was always greater than its part, in whatever era: the conservance of energy in nature was a fact before Mayer discovered and Joule demonstrated the law: truth is not less truth because our limited intellects have not yet fathomed it.

(60.)—Mr. Morison fails throughout his argument through lack of grasp of that great truth that nothing perishes in nature as at present constituted. Doubtless as matter had an origin by the will of the Supreme, so it can by His will have an end. But in the present constitution of the Universe there is no end to any thing. The consumption of the Suns, of which Mr. Morison speaks, is but the transformation or conversion of their energy. To quote Professor Tyndall, "the energy of nature is a constant quantity, and the utmost man can do in the pursuit of physical truth, or in the applications of physical knowledge, is to shift the constituents of the never-varying total, sacrificing one if he would produce another. The law of conservation rigidly excludes both creation and annihilation." (Under the present order of nature of course.) "Waves may change to ripples and ripples to waves—magnitude may be substituted for number, and number for magnitude—asteroids may aggregate to suns, suns may invest their energy in *flora* and *fauna*, and *flora* and *fauna* may melt in air—the flux of power is eternally the same."

Similarly the extinction, as Mr. Morison calls it, of religious beliefs is but a form of regeneration and progress. We may be sure that there is no exception in their case to the universal law of Nature.

Doubtless, as Mr. Morison says, dogma after dogma "passes gradually into the category of questioned and disputed theories, ending at last in the class of rejected and exploded errors." The reason is plain, namely, that human conceptions of God like human conceptions of His works, partake of the imperfection of human nature. In all sciences, not that of theology only, crude conceptions must be resolved and worked up again and again, each step in advance being the offspring of the preceding one, till completeness is attained;—just as the same process is always going on in nature, of which Tyndall says that "science proves itself to be a genuine product by growing according to this law." In this sense, no doubt, it is true, as Mr. Morison says, that science (meaning doubtless 'physical science') implies negation of theology. Physical science has hitherto been always in advance of theological science and corrects its errors. But if science in every age

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implies negation of current and outstripped theology, where does Mr. Morison find that it implies negation of *Theos*? On the contrary it leads up stage by stage to a nearer knowledge of His glory. If "the system of Christian theology and thought which arose out of the ruins of the Roman Empire has been gradually undermined," there is being built up in its place a much more enduring edifice. No doubt "every statement and proposition in the most elementary scientific primer probably conflicts with some theology or other"—that is to say, they substitute real knowledge of God's wonderful methods for man's rude and derogatory conceptions of the Perfect Wisdom and Perfect Love.

(61). Mr. Morison and his school must be well aware that faculties are progressive like everything else in nature. They doubtless believe that, as Professor Tyndall writes, "not alone the more ignoble form of animalcular or animal life, not alone the nobler forms of the horse and the lion, not alone the exquisite and wonderful mechanism of the human body, but the human mind itself– emotion, intellect, will, and all their phenomena, were once latent in a fiery cloud," and in whatever forms of matter preceded the formation of the fiery cloud. They probably hold that evolutionary methods, generally within the grasp of human comprehension and inconceivable only where the life from the unseen Universe comes in to bridge the gulf between the inorganic and organic kingdoms, have developed formless matter into the noble intellects of the present day. They believe that the mind of a Newton is but the development of the mind of a savage, and of all the stages which led up to the savage, and yet they are surprised that intellects of the first century were not capable of grasping truths which are elementary to those of the nineteenth century—though they see that those intellects of the first century could apprehend what was utterly beyond the scope of the intellects of Moses' day.

(62.)—And, after all, what is it that the intellect of the nineteenth century can apprehend?

Relatively to earlier stages of its development—much; but positively, nothing God has granted to us a great development of the faculties of observation, comparison, analysis, induction, regarding facts and laws. But the faculty to understand the how, the whence, the why, is as yet withheld. As Professor Tyndall writes "science is mute in reply to these questions." And he justly adds, "But if the materialist is confounded and science rendered dumb, who else is prepared with a solution? To whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? Let us lower our heads and acknowledge our ignorance, priest and philosopher, one and all."

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But this faculty we shall certainly have; it is promised to us—the Spirit of Truth which shall lead us into all truth. The time must come when, as the Professor says, this ultra scientific region by which we are now enfolded shall offer itself to investigation. The eye of the mind, like that of the body, lacks the faculties requisite for translation into light of the greater part of the rays which fall on it. But the development of those faculties already bestowed on us, as marked, for instance, by the distance between the Ignanodon and the members of the British Association, argues the further development which shall eventually show us "all Truth."

(63.)—Mr. Morison devotes a chapter to the 'decay of belief.' He draws a just comparison between obsolete opinions, systems of thought, and institutions, and the rudimentary organs in the animal frame which, having ceased to be of use, become shrunken and meaningless. The former are not only meaningless but often noxious, as has been felt in the persistent resistance of obsolete systems of theology to the revelations of science. If Christians would but realise the force of Bacon's saying—"that a little natural philosophy and the first entrance into it doth dispose the opinion to atheism; but, on the other side, much natural philosophy and wading deep into it, will bring about men's minds to religion"—they would abandon the ill-advised and even impious attitude assumed by some of them towards knowledge which can only come from God.

Mr. Morison quotes this Baconian saying without grasping its force. He declares that it is now being reversed—basing this view on the discovery of the immense preponderance of failure over success in nature, which cannot, he thinks, justify the assumption of an intelligent designer. Of course with men who suppose that every thing 'growed,' like Topsy; who are not aware of Huxley's announcement that the doctrine of Biogenesis, or life only from life, is "Victorious along the whole line at the present day;" discussion is useless. But accepting that doctrine, admitting the existence of laws, and the necessary inference of a lawgiver,—that law which we see to be universal, namely, 'selection of the fittest' and putting back of the majority to try again after progress in other forms,—is very well consistent with the reason which we derive from the Designer. But Mr. Morison further considers philosophy to be fatal to religion because it demonstrates "that man has not fallen, but risen, and that from the lowest level of animal existence." Certainly philosophy is herein fatal to Paul's conception of the history of man—but why to faith in God, or in his scheme for our perfection. It must be a weak mind which can be shaken by discovering that Paul, David, and

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others, spoke according to the ideas of their time and were not instructed in all science. It certainly was unnecessary for the purpose for which Paul was sent that he should be so, and, if he had been so, his knowledge would have been incomprehensible to hearers of the first century, who knew only the Mosaic theology. Paul knew and taught, what all could understand, that imperfection is inherent in nature; that "all have sinned" (or failed) "and come short of the glory of God." It was needless for his purpose that he should be aware of the scientific explanation of this. His Mission was to show how the failure and incompleteness could be made perfect and complete.

(64.)—Granting that the fall is "a mere fiction of a primitive cosmogony," still the imperfection and incompleteness which that fiction endeavours to explain is a scientific fact—and the Incarnation has, to quote Mr. Morison's words in another sense, "no other object than that of neutralising its effects." Criticism, observation, analogy, induction, can only carry us a certain length. To quote Professor Tyndal—"Though the progress and development of science may seem to be unlimited, there is a region beyond her reach—a line which she does not even tend to inosculate." God gives us these noble faculties to use, wherewith to learn his methods, to correct foolish misapprehensions, to obtain juster ideas of His glory,—but, when they will take us no further, another faculty must come in. "Can we by searching find out God?" Not yet; but through the faculties already developed in us, we can obtain some insight into His observed laws, and infer from them others which we cannot observe. Afterwards it must be by the intuition afforded by His Spirit that we grasp the great mystery of Love—"God manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."

(65.) Mr. Morison adduces the general rejection of miracles as a symptom of the decay of belief; it is rather, however, progress in the knowledge of God, which sees that all signs and wonders must be in accordance with laws of His, yet unknown, —and therefore natural, not contrary to nature. It may certainly be conceded to Mr. Morison that there is nothing miraculous in Christianity itself. The gradual revelation of God's method of perfecting His creation is not supernatural, nor even super-experimental; it is in accordance with the universal law of progress. Human errors in conception of that method are equally in accordance with the universal law of imperfection in nature, and their gradual correction is in accordance with the tendency of this imperfection towards perfection. Unbelief gains nothing by exposing these errors, it rather renders service to Christianity,—but at any rate it is superfluous to

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expose exploded errors. To attack, as Mr. Morison does, the monstrous conception of Satan's eternal function of tormenting souls in hell; to attack the barbarous notion of God as Moloch, requiring propitiation by the death of the innocent Christ; this is 'twice to slay the slain.' There is, as he says, no mystery at all about the origin of such conceptions. "Barbarous and cruel ages have ever generated barbarous and cruel religions." As God is better known, such conceptions are "being superseded by the growing conscience of mankind."

But it is not the case, and will never be the case among Christians, that (in the scoffing sense in which Mr. Morison quotes words of eminent writers) the idea of God should be "defecated to a pure transparency," should be "deanthropomorphised." The idea of God is certainly deanthropomorphised, as regards the imperfect *anthropos* so far attained by evolution. But the perfect man which shall hereafter be attained—as in progress of evolution we are "born not of blood, nor of the will of flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God"—*that* man certainly is made in God's image, after His likeness, and Jesus of Naureth, the first man of this new type, expressly declared that in seeing Him we see the Father.

(66.) Mr. Herbert Spencer cannot conceive of a divine consciousness, of a divine will, of a divine intelligence, which are reconcilable "with the unchangeableness otherwise alleged and with the omniscience otherwise alleged." Probably less exalted reasoners will not bewilder their poor human brains and limited intellects with striving after such conceptions in the light of reason. Eventually, doubtless, intuition, born of love and faith and cultivated by prayer, may attain even this height. Meanwhile it will suffice us to know and feel that God is Love; and that He is like perfected man, or perfected man like Him, in the completeness of Love; and that even imperfect man in so far resembles God, and can so far understand God by the analogy of his own nature, as he possesses a share greater or less of that Love. Again, to quote Mr. Morison—"no one wants, no one cares for, an abstract God, an unknowable, an absolute, with whom we stand in no human or intelligible relation. What pious hearts wish to feel and believe is the existence "behind the veil" of the visible world, of an invisible personality, friendly to man, at once a brother and God. The unequalled potency of Christianity as a religion of the heart, has ever consisted in the admirable conception of the man-God, Jesus Christ." This, which is meant as a pitying explanation of our delusion, exactly states the case. Such a personality is what the heart of man needs, and He who implanted that need has satisfied it in showing us Himself, the Supreme Love, incarnate in the flesh.

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(67.) Woe to any sect or creed which teaches otherwise, and which shows to men, not Supreme Love, but partiality and injustice. It will be called upon, as Major Campbell, in Kingsley's "Two years ago," called upon the revivalist preacher, "to answer to him for the innocent lives which you have endangered and destroyed, for the innocent souls to whom you have slandered their Heavenly Father." To quote further from this remarkable book, written by a fearless priest thirty years ago,—"When a preacher tells people in one breath of a God who so loves men that he gave his own son to save them, and in the next that the same God so hates men that He will cast nine-tenths of them into hopeless torture for ever (and if that is not hating, I do not know what is)"—that preacher has certainly gone beyond his mandate. He needs to go to Nature's school to be taught the marvellous scheme of evolution towards perfection. He has yet to learn "what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, for I am not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance."

PART VII.

The failures of Christianity.

"We have this treasure in earthen vessels."

(68.) Even Newton, transcendent genius as he was, fell into error in dealing with a subject which he had made specially his own. He supported the emission theory of light. He could not conceive the separability of refraction and dispersion. For a century his vast reputation stood like a dam across the course of discovery, and it is only of recent date that Younge, Fresnel and Dollond have corrected his errors. How, with such instances before him, could Mr. Morison think it reasonable to cast its mistakes in the teeth of any science—even theology? Nevertheless he scoffs at the Christians of to-day for discarding the doctrine of the eternity of hell-torments. He says that "the minimising of irksome tenets is a frequent resource, and an unfailing symptom of decaying faiths." He asks why, if the new interpretations of God's revelation are right, they were not discovered before. He might as well ask why was not the circulation of the blood, or the germ theory of disease, discovered earlier. It does not follow that, because medical science once erroneouly supposed lunacy to be possession of the devil, therefore future professors of medicine may have to discard the dogma that *delirium tremens* results from drinking. Equally Mr. Morison's assumption is incorrect, that because Christians once imagined that God hates the vast majority of His creatures, they will have to abandon the better knowledge, that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world

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unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them : " that even in the case of all those whom, for his own wise purposes he has " concluded in unbelief,"—it is " that He might have mercy upon all : " that Christ Jesus, being raised up, will inevitably " draw all men unto him."

(69.) Mr. Morison evidently does not recognise intuition as a faculty. There are many people who can recognise no faculty which they do not themselves possess, yet what is there incomprehensible in intuition ? Faculties are not all evident, even to their possessors ; they need development by practice, and they can be atrophied by disuse. The athlete develops his limbs till his achievements appear incredible to one whose muscles are paralysed by sloth. How many who read the feats of trained imagination by men of science, can realise, much less follow, them ? Nor have these even approached their acme, any more than the feats of the gymnasts. Speaking of atoms, Tyndall says that their first marshalling, " on which all subsequent action depends, baffles a keener power than that of the microscope. Through pure excess of complexity, and long before observation can have any voice in the matter, the most highly trained intellect, the most refined and disciplined imagination, retires in bewilderment from the contemplation of the problem." Similarly the faculty of intuition—after its bestowal in the ' new birth '—trained as it may be to a keen power by prayer and meditation, can as yet, even in its most accomplished masters, but dimly conceive of God. But conceive Him in some measure it can, in those on whom it has been thus bestowed, and in whom it has been thus cultivated ; and the inability of others who have shared the ' new birth,' only argues want of cultivation of the faculty—such as is argued regarding the speculative faculty by inability to follow the reasoned speculations of a Newton. Of course, for the agnostic, while yet awaiting the ' new birth ' which shall assuredly bring him into the new species of spiritual man, there is no such faculty. " The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God ; for they are foolishness unto him : neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned." This is in accordance with the laws of nature. The inorganic kingdom does not possess the faculties of the organic, nor the organic those of the spiritual kingdom. Minerals must be absorbed into the vegetable, natural men must be new born into the type of Christ, before they can share the higher life, and, even after that, progress must be by gradual development. One human being only has possessed this power of intuition in its perfection—the carpenter of Nazareth ; and when he announced the results, the people took up stones to stone Him.

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(70) Mr. Morison and his school ought to be in advance of the Jews of the first century, nevertheless he only quotes Carlyle's announcement of intuition for the purpose of casting a stone. No better instance can be given of this faculty in modern days than by quoting Carlyle's description of the dawn of intuition on his soul. After that bitter cry commencing—"To me the universe was all void of life, of purpose, of volition, even of hostility:" Carlyle proceeds—"Foreshadows, call them rather fore-splendours of that truth and beginning of truths, fell mysteriously over my soul. Sweeter than day-spring to the ship-wrecked in Nova Zembla; Ah! like the mother's voice to her little child that strays bewildered weeping, in unknown tumults: like soft streamings of celestial music to my too exasperated heart, came that evangel: The universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house with spectres; but God-like, and my Father's."

Let those who question such intuition because they cannot understand it—as Mr. Herbert Spencer questions the divine consciousness, the divine will, the divine intelligence, because he cannot understand them—ask themselves what they know of their own mental conditions. Intuition they will find to be no more inconceivable than volition, or any other marvellous effect of what is called "the mind." It is not, as Mr. Morison asserts, "in spite of the laws of their consciousness," but because of the laws of their consciousness, that men will believe in a good God who loves and cares for them, whom they apprehend by what there is of divine in themselves. It is through confusion of ideas that our conception of God is called anthropomorphism,—it should rather be said that man is theomorphous, that it is only in so far as he is in the image of God that he can have a conception of God.

(71.) Mr. Morison finds an argument against Christianity in the lack of Christian consolation. In this connection he quotes the sufferings of Bunyan: he quotes Thomas-a-Kempis as denying that we have any ground even to hope for consolation: he quotes Cardinal Wiseman on the experience of all saints during the period preceding the attainment of that "Peace of God which passeth all understanding." "During this tremendous probation," writes the Cardinal, "the soul is dark, parched, and wayless, as earth without water, as one staggering across a desert, or, to rise to a nobler illustration, like Him, remotely, who lay on the ground on Olivet, loathing the cup which He had longed for beyond the sweet chalice which He had drunk with His apostles just before." Undoubtedly, the repulsion of the perfect towards imperfection touches what there is of the divine nature in Christians, causing them to loathe themselves. But, apart from this, the dejection of failure

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is not peculiar to the pursuit of holiness; it is felt by poets, by musicians, by all who follow what pursuit soever with their whole heart. Such dejection in Christians is, however, a sign of ignorance and imperfection pertaining to their humanity. The Christian's misery is of his own making—through forgetfulness of the fact that he can do nothing of himself. Like Peter he looks on the storm instead of on his Lord. He cannot realise that "it is God which worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure." So he strives for himself, and fails, and is cast down. "O preposterous and vain man," cries Drummond, "thou who couldest not make a finger nail of thy body, thinkest thou to fashion this wonderful, mysterious, subtle soul of thine after the ineffable image? Will thou ever permit thyself *to be* conformed to the image of the Son? Will thou, who canst not add a cubit to thy stature, submit *to be* raised by the type-life within thee, to the perfect stature of Christ?"

Professor Drummond again appeals here to the analogy of nature: "For its growth a plant needs heat, light, air, and moisture. A man, therefore, must go in search of these or their spiritual equivalents, and this is his work? By no means. The Christian's work is not yet. Does the plant go in search of conditions? Nay the conditions come to the plant. It no more manufactures the heat, light, air, and moisture, than it manufactures its own stem. It finds them all around it in nature. It simply stands still with its leaves spread out in unconscious prayer, and nature lavishes upon it these and all other bounties. · · Grace, too, is as free as air. The Lord God is a sun. He is as the dew to Israel. A man has no more to manufacture these than he has to manufacture his own soul."

(72). A future life, writes Mr. Morison, "is one of the most enormous assumptions without proof ever made; and yet, on this immense postulate all the alleged consolations of religion of necessity hang." No doubt they do. "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable";—for the perfection sought by the divine aspiration implanted in us is, as we see, only to be attained in following the Master through the last stage of evolution, with that perfect love and faith, which alone are powers to extinguish imperfection and attain completeness. As to the proof of the future life, it can only be the Rip Van Winkles of science who have not long ago accepted this in the analogy of nature, the hourly resurrection of all creation;—even if they will not admit the resurrection of Christ on testimony such as would be sufficient in the case of any other historical event.

(73). Mr. Morison raises another ill-considered objection against Christianity when he says—"The affliction of the just and

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the prosperity of the wicked has always been a serious difficulty to pious persons who combine reflection with devotion. Probably few religious persons have escaped the bitterness of feeling that they were unjustly chastened, that the rod of God was on them and not on the wicked" Before God's method and scheme of salvation were made known in Christ this was doubtless felt. Even now, persons who will not take the trouble to understand either may so feel. But by Christians, generally, it is understood, and has long been understood, that "Whom he loveth he chasteneth." That law of nature under which suffering is a means towards perfection is now fully recognised by the intuition of Christians, even when not scientifically known to them. In the moment of dissolution, certainly, the failing human brain is liable to lose hold of this and other great truths—as shown by the exceeding bitter cry of the dying Jesus, to which Mr. Morison refers. He adds "Christ's followers have discovered consolations and *viatica* in the hour of death which were denied to him." They have, indeed! These consolations and *viatica* are Jesus himself, and His priceless death, and His glorious resurrection.

(74). Mr. Morison devotes a chapter to "the consideration of Christianity as a guide to conduct." Both this chapter and another upon "Morality in the ages of Faith" are based on confusion of Christianity as a profession and Christianity as an affection,—between Christianity as accepted by the understanding and Christianity as a matter of the heart. Nevertheless the "*video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*," the burden of Romans VII, must be familiar to all who know human nature. The gap between the kingdoms must be familiar to all who know the revelations of science. Pound up a crystal or dissolve it, and when allowed to re-form it remains a crystal still. The inorganic kingdom cannot rise to life till life reaches down to it from above and absorbs it into itself, and even when thus introduced into the organic kingdom, it is still at the bottom of the scale and can only rise by development; and in the highest known development, man, it is still imperfect. When by the 'new birth' the organic rises into the spiritual kingdom, ages beyond the scope of imagination may yet be needed for its perfection;—at any rate, such is not to be attained on this side of that great separation from the degrading correspondences of this world, which occurs in the process called death.

Naturally Christians waive, as Mr. Morison says, morality *as an end*, when they know that it is no matter of the will, that it is not to be attained by personal effort. One unhappy creature is afflicted with the lust of drink; another with the lust of gain; the form taken by sin or imperfection in a third, is that of shattered nerves and irascibility: it matters little

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whether the disease is hereditary, or determinate, or both combined—no effort of a will which necessarily shares the imperfection of which the individual is victim, can expel the disease by which it is itself affected. For this is needed something from without, the expulsive power of a new affection, the connection with a new force—in short the 'new birth.' It is for this that all creation groans and travails in pain—"the earnest expectation of the creature waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God." When the 'new birth' is given, is it to be doubted that the cure will commence? Fear has healed the bedridden and the drunken, is it to be supposed that the power of love is less! Science knows the wonderful effects produced by belief; the facts of faith-healing and faith harming are too numerous, whether in Europe or Asia, for reasonable doubt;—is faith in Christ less powerful than belief in a charlatan?

(75.) "It is admitted by all Christians," writes Mr. Morison, "that man is saved only through the merits and passion of Christ." "Saved" from what? From his own Father? Man is perfected and made complete, certainly, in Christ only. We all know that perfection is absolutely unattainable by man in his present stage of evolution; some constitutions are more imperfect, some less so, but the difference is only of degree. But the analogy of evolution points to man's eventual completion, to his eventual rise from the organic to the spiritual kingdom, as the inorganic kingdom rose into the organic. The scope of Christianity as a revelation is, to show how this is achieved (not to *explain* what must remain as much a mystery as the rise of the inorganic kingdom into life); it is not, as Paley says, "to influence the conduct of human life by establishing the proof of a future state of reward and punishment"—but is simply "Christ crucified," and His creation thus perfected and made complete in Him. The method indicated is that of *en pathei matheîn*, which is in harmony with the entire course of evolution and natural selection,—a law of the Supreme Love which observation teaches to be universal, and which intuition knows to be needful and benignant.

(76.) Mr. Morison writes—"By laying all the emphasis of its teaching on repentance and the subjective attitude of the soul towards God, and not on good works performed to individuals and society, Christianity has not applied its force in the right direction for producing the *maximum* of morality." This is putting the cart before the horse. Repentance is an *effect* of love, a result of the "new birth;" we regret having grieved or injured one towards whom the heart goes out. Whether, for crushing a worm, or for grieving the Almighty,

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the emotion differs only in degree. This love is what we have of the Divine in us—our part in the central power of the universe. It exists not in man only, but presumably throughout the universe. We observe it in the higher animals, and—

> "The poet, faithful and far-seeing,
> See alike in stars and flowers a part
> Of the self-same universal being,
> Which is beating in his brain and heart."

But electricity is also a power existing in all things, and love, like electricity, needs connection before its power is developed. It is this connection, appparently, which is effected in that sudden and mystical process of evolution (analogous to the process whereby the gulf between the inorganic and organic kingdoms is bridged) which the Master described to Nicodemus as the passage from the organic into the spiritual kingdom. Then goes out the man's being to the Central Love; then he grieves to offend his Father; then his heart yearns for incorporation in the Redeemer's perfection; then he makes the feeble attempts to please, which men like Mr. Morison talk of, without understanding them, as good works and morality.

(77.) Frequent reference has been made in these chapters to the 'new birth,' on the assumption that mankind's comprehension has now got beyond the stage of that of Nicodemus. To define that marvellous process of our evolution is neither possible nor desirable. This essay is in part a protest against the human tendency to dogmatise by which so much harm has been done. The Master did not define the process, and it is as little susceptible now, as in His day, of definition in terms of human comprehension. It certainly cannot consist in water baptism only, nor can baptism be even indispensable thereto. It cannot consist in conversion only, as that term is now understood in the sense of an emotion, often hysterical. To be converted, or changed, to become as little children, is the evident sign of this new birth—of that baptism with the Holy Ghost which comes as the wind comes—but what *is* that 'new birth,' that development which the Master calls being "born of the Spirit?" This is inscrutable. It is not to be apprehended by our limited faculties (compare 2 Cor. XII, v. 1—5), though doubtless some idea of the process is to be derived from the recorded experience of eminent Christians, and from the analogy of nature. Certainly science cannot but know that such a development is in entire accordance with the analogy of nature and the doctrine *omne vivum ex vivo*. As the development of the inorganic into the organic kingdom needs life from without, so the development of the organic into the spiritual kingdom. The former phase of evolution depends doubtless on laws of the unseen universe.

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The latter, as revealed to us by the Master, depends on the direct action of the Spirit of God. This is clearly stated in the chapters on "Environment" and "Conformity to Type" in that popular work of a well known physicist, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." There is, says Beale, "a period in the development of every tissue and every living thing known to us, when there are actually no *structural* peculiarities whatever—when the whole organism consists of transparent, structureless, semi-fluid living bioplasm—when it would not be possible to distinguish the growing moving matter which was to evolve the oak, from that which was the germ of a vertebrate animal." Huxley has been before quoted as describing how the skilled workman deals with this bioplasm to make a water-newt. Similarly, when a bird is wanted, "the bird-life seizes upon the bird-germ and builds it up into a bird, the image of itself. The reptile-life seizes upon another germinal speck, assimilates surrounding matter, and fashions it into a reptile: The reptile-life thus simply makes an incarnation of itself. The visible bird is simply an incarnation of the invisible bird-life. "Now." (writes Professor Drummond) "we are nearing the point where the spiritual analogy appears. There is another kind of life of which science as yet has taken little cognisance. It obeys the same laws. It builds up an organism into its own form. It is the Christ-life. As the bird-life builds up a bird the image of itself, so the Christ-life builds up a Christ the image of Himself, in the inward nature of man. When a man becomes a Christian the natural process is this. The living Christ enters unto his soul. Development begins. The quickening life seizes upon the soul, assimilates surrounding elements, and begins to fashion it, and all through life" (both here and hereafter) "this wonderful, mystical, glorious, yet perfectly definite process, goes on 'until Christ be formed' in it."

(78) Thus, according to nature's analogy, must the "new birth" be accomplished. A new type having been established in the man-Jesus, according to the mysterious law by which new types have been evolved throughout the course of nature—that new type perpetuates itself in the manner above indicated. If it be objected that the bird-germ becomes a perfect bird, but the Christ-germ does not become a perfect Christ, the answer is 'who has seen the end of the growth of the Christ-germ? "What wonder if development be tardy in the creature of eternity? A Christian's sun has sometimes set, and a critical world has seen as yet no corn in the ear as yet. "As yet," in this long life, has not begun. Grant him the years proportionate to his place in the scale of life. "The time of harvest is not yet." It has taken ages, under the influence of environment, to perfect the function of lung-breathing

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in a frog, evolved from the tadpole which breathes by gills; is the development of divine functions to be produced in a lifetime? Even when the spiritual correspondence with a divine environment is made complete in the new birth, the new creature resulting is "perfect only as the bud is perfect. 'It doth not yet appear what it shall be,' any more than it appeared a million years ago what the evolving batrachian would be."

PART VIII.

The Fruits of the Spirit.

Humble lives, to low thought, and low; but linked to the thinker s eye,
By a bond that is stronger than death, with the lights of the farthest sky.

(79) The miscomprehension of Christianity which runs through those chapters of Mr. Morison last referred to, continues in that which deals with 'What Christianity has done.' He states that "the whole scheme of redemption supposes that God was so pleased with the voluntary sufferings of the innocent Christ, that in consideration for them, he forgave guilty man." Nevertheless he quotes elsewhere, as if he understood it, the text which says that God desires mercy and not sacrifice. It is certainly the case that "the whole idea of Christianity, as given in the New Testament, is steeped in suffering." No doubt Christians regard it as their highest privilege to suffer, and are alarmed if they lack that spot which marks God's children. It stands to reason that, if suffering is the means towards perfection—without the voluntary acceptance of which even Christ, the new type of creation, could not, as such, be made complete, and his creation with Him—then those who desire to share that completion by incorporation with Christ, must feel the desire to share that means—to be "crucified with Him." This must necessarily be the case, as soon as their connection with the Central Love and its incarnation is effected in the 'new birth,' as assumed in para 76.

(80) It must be recognised, of course, that there is much suffering in the world which is not accepted by the will. That is, apparently, the process of purging imperfection prescribed by the All-wise throughout nature. But man alone has attained that stage of development in which he is capable of exercising a will to accept with gladness this appointed means, and thus to fulfil that perfect obedience "to do Thy will O God!" which commences the completion of union with the Central Love. In so far as he is not enabled by a new birth so to use his will, and thus rebels against, instead of accepting this means of union, suffering must fail of having effect to that

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extent; though still, will he nill he, tending towards the purging of man's imperfection, and to bringing him into a state fitted for the 'new birth,' wherein his will shall come into harmony with that of his Father. Jesus Christ, the new type, had such a will, harmonious with His Father's—"not my will but Thine be done"—and his suffering was thus, in the fullest sense of the term, 'voluntary.' No doubt His possession in perfection of the supreme faculties of love and faith rendered Him superior to the laws of suffering and death *as needful to perfection*. And yet those very faculties enabled, nay necessitated Him voluntarily to submit to those laws in order to perfect obedience for His kind, and to complete them by an achievement of which they are not capable. And it may also be said that the Central Love was 'pleased' (though such a term can only be used for the infirmity of human understanding) in this accomplishment of the method for union with itself of the creation over which it yearns. Evidently this is something very different from Mr. Morison's idea of the "scheme of redemption," as above quoted.

(81). Mr. Morison, forgetting the imperfection of human nature, quotes the silly remark of a saintly woman as giving the key-note of Christian feeling on this subject of suffering—not one's own but that of others. Mother Margaret Hallaham, on hearing that, in spite of storm signals and meteorological theories, the wrecks on the English coast increased instead of diminishing in number, expressed her satisfaction, exclaiming, "I like these learned gentlemen to know that God is Master." He might have matched this with many quotations from the Psalms and from the Prophets, even from modern and learned Divines; but what purpose does he serve by the quotation?

In so far as it is true, as Professor Huxley once said, that the temper excited in some portions of the clerical world and among religious people, by the recent growth of physical science, is like the anger and alarm with which the savage views the progress of an eclipse—these instances only show, what every one knows, that holy women or zealous clergymen, or saints of old, alike fall far short of perfection. But how can Christian principle be inferred from their shortcomings?

For Christian principles we can only turn to their one perfect exponent. So far from regarding "evil, pain, and disease, as trials sent by God for his own wise ends, chastisement meant for our rebuke and guidance"—and, therefore, not to be interfered with, the Master devoted his whole time to counteracting them; just as science, under the guidance of His promised Spirit of Truth, is doing now. Suffering there must be, otherwise no perfection. The Christian, however, while feeling, in

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faint imitation of his Master, that he has a baptism to be baptised with, and that he is straitened till it is accomplished; while accepting with perfect love, trust, confidence, and thanksgiving, whatever unavoidably reaches himself ("Father, if this cup may not pass away from me except I drink it, thy will be done;") will do his utmost to mitigate and assuage, to limit by anticipation and prevention, to obviate by prayer ("Father if it be possible, let this cup pass from me") suffering, physical or moral, another's or his own. How much more will he adopt all possible methods to remedy evil or imperfection throughout God's universe, whether physical, social or moral!

(82.) Mr. Morison states that "we find two permanent factors running through the religions of the past in all their changes of outward presentation: sacrifices on the part of the worshipper; and a gradual approximation of the service of the gods to the service of man." There is nothing surprising in this. It was some earlier philosopher than Mr. Morison who formulated the principle "Love me love my dog." From that love which draws us towards God must result the love of what He loves. As to sacrifice, that is also a necessary concomitant of affection. Nothing gives more pleasure than to offer at the shrine of the heart the very best that one has. If this is true in relation to one's kind, how much more so in relation to the Central Love and Its Incarnation, who draw us "with cords of a man, with bonds of love!" It is not the case, then, that "instead of Theolatry we have Anthropolatry. The Divine service has become human service." The real fact is that *from* Theolatry has come Anthropolatry. Such is the connection with the Central Love, which is established in the 'new birth,' that the Christian cries with Paul, "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh." Witness the vast efforts of Christianity to reach the world; the charities, the hospitals, the missions, Doctor Bernardo's noble work, the stupendous organisation of the Salvation Army, all travailing in birth again, like Paul, 'until Christ be formed' in their brothers of men. And why? Because 'necessity is laid upon them,' as Paul declares: 'yea, woe is unto them if they preach not the gospel,' if they publish not the good tidings of peace.

(83.) With this correction, namely that Anthropolatry is *from*, not instead of Theolatry, all said by Mr. Morison regarding the 'service of man' is just. "We can serve men firstly, and perhaps chiefly, by improving ourselves; and this in all respects, physically, mentally, morally." It is very certain that the nearer we can approach to physical perfection, the

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better shall we be mentally and morally. It can hardly be doubted that Canon Farrar must be correct in supposing.—both on the testimony of tradition and from the extraordinary endurance which He displayed, both in His labors and in His sufferings,—the physique of the man Jesus to have been perfect. Isaiah 52. v. 14 and 53. v. 2 can refer only to the terrible period of the passion. Mr. Morison truly says that "without a high standard of health, duties become difficult or impossible to perform, and our whole efficiency is lessened." Thus the preservation and development of the physical 'talent' confided to us becomes a duty. The idea must absolutely be abandoned that there is anything of divine appointment in preventible evil, in the sense of its being opposed to God's will that evil should be remedied. Evidently when the Central Love became incarnate to perfect imperfection, and to thus bring to an end suffering, which is the means whereby imperfection is perfected—it was intended that we, incorporate with Him, should pursue the same end.

(84.) Mr. Morison writes—"The theological doctrine that there is no such thing as merit in the sight of God, that all we have has been received as a free gift, admits of a plainly scientific expression as a matter of fact." Of course it does. Would Mr. Morison be surprised to learn that the Epistle to the Romans is pure science according to the most advanced lights of the present day; that the writers of the New Testament have stated truths in the clearest terms of modern science? "They did not mean to be scientific," writes Professor Drummond, "only to be accurate, and their fearless accuracy has made them scientific." As by development a certain combination of matter became fit to receive natural life—how communicated we cannot tell; so by development a certain organization of natural life became fit to receive Spiritual Life—how communicated we are told by Christ. "The protoplasm in man has something in addition to its instincts and its habits" (shared with lower natural organisations). "It has a capacity for God. In this capacity for God lies its receptivity; it was the very protoplasm that was necessary" so writes the Professor, and he proceeds to show that receptivity is man's sole share in the process of the 'new birth'—receptivity which was itself *bestowed* upon him. This, as he says, is a humbling conclusion, but it is forced upon us not only by modern science, but by the science of the first century. "Observe the passive voice in these sentences: "*Begotten* of God;" "The new man which *is renewed* in knowledge after the image of Him that created him;" or this, "We *are changed* into the same image;" or this, "Predestinate *to be conformed* to the image of His Son;" or

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again, "Until Christ *be formed* in you;" or "except a man *be born again* he cannot see the kingdom of God;" "except a man *be born* of water and of the spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of God." There is one outstanding sentence which seems at first on the other side: "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling;" but as one reads on he finds, as if the writer dreaded the very misconception,—the complement, "For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His own good pleasure."

(85.) It may be granted to Mr. Morison that the above doctrine does away with moral responsibility: and further, "that the sooner the idea of moral responsibility is got rid of, the better it will be for society and moral education . . . What do we gain by this fine language as to moral responsibility? The right to blame, and so forth. Bad men are not touched by it . . . Nothing is gained by disguising the fact that there is no" (human) "remedy for a bad heart, and no substitute for a good one." There is, indeed, no human remedy for a bad heart. The degree of imperfection implied in that expression, and the lesser degree of imperfection implied by 'a good heart,' can alike be remedied only from without. David knew this by intuition, and he cried "create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me." Whence came this intuition, whence the desire, who inspired the cry? Again we must look outside of the creature to the Creator, who inspires his entire creation with the desire for, and gives it the 'new birth,' the power of progress towards perfection,—"not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy." So far Mr. Morison and his school may be right—and what then? Can they not see that the Central Love *is* doing this; that the whole creation *is* progressing—and has been progressing—from the time that it was nothing but a fiery cloud, or whatever forms of matter were before that—progressing towards perfection and union with the Central Love? Can they not understand that, in Paul's noble words, "we *all*, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord?"

(86.) Although Mr. Morison perceives that imperfection can do nothing of itself for evolution towards perfection, it is not very clear how he would propose that this object should be attained. His only contribution is a remarkable proposal to suppress the more imperfect in each generation "in some effectual way, and above all, to prevent his leaving a posterity as wicked as himself." Mr. Morison must be aiming at something very far short of completeness. Perfect the natural man

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as we will, he still remains a member of the organic kingdom. No such perfecting can lift him into the kingdom above, any more than the perfecting of a mineral can lift it from the inorganic kingdom into the kingdom above The *maximum* of the inorganic may equal in beauty the *minimum* of the organic kingdom, but it is a different thing. The latter is, as Professor Drummond points out, at the commencement of its development, with infinite possibilities before it—even up to the stage of man: "it doth not yet appear what it shall be." In so far as moral failure is part and parcel of physical imperfection, doubtless the amelioration of physical imperfection (not necessarily by the cattle-breeding process recommended by Mr. Morison) will go far to diminish moral failure. Yet, polish up man to the 'nth,' and he still remains *man* of the original type—however perfected. The "new birth" is still required, to lift him from the organic into the spiritual kingdom; to change natural man into regenerate man of the species following the type Jesus Christ.

(87.) Experience so far has shown that there is no artificial means of obtaining a new type. That comes in accordance with some law beyond the scope of our present faculties. Its appearance is mysterious and sudden. Still more so the translation into a new kingdom. *A fortiori* the appearance of the new type of man, commencing its evolution in the spiritual kingdom, is sudden, mysterious, and entirely beyond spontaneous effort or human means. It "is born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." The connection between the Central Love and that power of love latent in individuals is effected instantly, and the attraction thus set up overcomes every repulsion which intervenes. Mr. Morison appears, in some measure, to understand this. He writes "a passion of pure love has often saved a man from a swarm of minor vices. All the famous and sudden religious conversions from evil living to righteousness may be traced to the same principle." How inconsistent, then, is his condemnation of Roman IX, which, he says, has probably "added more to human misery than any other utterances made by man." St. Paul was only quoting from Isaiah and Jeremiah, and what those Prophets stated is evident to us all. As mankind can know nothing of the method of making the pots, but *can* know, by the intuition obtained in the 'new birth,' the supreme intensity of the Central Love which tempers the pots, there can be little difficulty for Christians in leaving the matter to that Power—with entire confidence that, tempered and re-tempered, the pot will reach its perfect dimension at last.

(88.) The rest of Mr. Morison's book needs no remark. The service of man, which he advocates, is the service of God

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—to which Christians are inevitably drawn in the 'new birth.' Those who have received this, between whom and the Central Love connection has been established, must necessarily long to see the same in others. Their feelings are those of St. Paul, before quoted from Romans IX. How can they help feeling the longing to show by self-sacrifice the intensity of their love and gratitude? To talk to such people of merit in this, of virtue in their own case, and of the reward of their virtue, is to move them to laughter. Like St. Paul they know that they have not apprehended, and, in this life, cannot apprehend; 'but this one thing they do, forgetting those things that are behind, and reaching forth unto those things that are before, they press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.'

It is probable that as time heals differences; as the Spirit of Truth continues His work; as science sees deeper into God's methods, and recognizes the scientific accuracy of the description given of them in the New Testament; as Theology abandons its attitude of suspicion, and looks more and more to the revelation which God vouchsafes to science;—then Positivist and Materialist, Sceptic snd Agnostic, all those to whom God vouchsafes a sincere desire to find Him, will meet with Christians on one common ground, the apprehension of God's love. And as to each arrives, here or hereafter, the 'new birth,' he will be at last "persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

H. GREY,
Commissioner, Delhi Division.

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ART. X.—SOME LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF THE CRAWFORD CASE.

THE literature of the Crawford Case in the public press has been so voluminous, that the difficulty is, among the various questions which have been raised, to select those, a discussion of which may be said to be especially appropriate. It is not desired to touch upon certain political aspects of the case: nor is it expedient to discuss the evidence upon which the accused was tried, or the verdict of the Commissioners. But taking certain leading facts as undisputed, it may be profitable to consider what bearing they have on the difficult administrative problem in India. There has been in the case a vast expenditure of words as well as money; but this will not have been altogether thrown away, if certain leading points have been established, which may prove a guide in future cases of a similar description A few introductory remarks are necessary, explanatory of the persons and facts concerned. Mr. Crawford was a Commissioner of a Division in the Bombay Presidency. Judging from the description given by the Special Commissioners in their report, this office is apparently one of great responsibility. The Commissioner has six or more Collectorates under him, and in all matters of importance he is the channel through whom Government must be approached. He is also the master of a large amount of patronage. The native District Officer is known as Mamlatdar, and seems to answer to the Tahsildar or Deputy Collector of other parts of India. Every Mamlatdar is the local Magistrate, and the chief Revenue Officer of a group of villages, known as a taluka. Practically the Mamlatdar is supreme in his taluka, subject only to the supervision of the Assistant Collector, who is in charge of two or three talukas, and in his turn is subject to the supervision of the Collector of the Zilla or District, which contains from 6 to 12 talukas. About six districts go to make up a Commissionership. As the appointment to the office of Mamlatdar is vested entirely in the hands of the Commissioner, it is evident that the patronage exercised by the latter official is one of the most important functions of his office.

Some time in the hot season of 1888, a native official of

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some standing—Assistant to the Director of Agriculture—addressed the Bombay Government, calling attention to the fact that Mr. Crawford was largely indebted to natives within the limits of his Division, and also that it was notorious that money was paid in connection with the various appointments in the gift of the Commissioner. This was not an anonymous communication, on which Government might or might not take action. It was a deliberately expressed accusation by a public officer, and by its very nature demanded further enquiry. This apparently was done by seeking information from a Mr. Pendse, who was the head of the English office under the Commissioner, and who would thus necessarily be acquainted with much that was said to have gone on in that office. That information seems to have led Government to take the next step of calling in the Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Ommaney, who was at once directly empowered on the part of Government to give a guarantee to all witnesses in the following terms:—

(*a*). "Immunity from prosecution to any person giving evidence."

(*b*). "In cases of payments for promotion, or to obtain or avoid transfers, immunity from official or departmental punishment or loss, subject to the stipulation that the evidence given is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

The stipulation naturally belongs to both branches of the guarantee. Taking that for granted, it is to be noticed that the immunity from official or departmental punishment or loss was promised to those only who confessed to payment made for promotion or to obtain or avoid transfers.

The Inspector-General of Police (Mr. Ommaney) has recorded his opinion, giving his reasons at full length, that "it is absolutely certain, that without the guarantee, no word of direct evidence would have been elicited." This, indeed, is self-evident. According to the Indian Penal Code, the giver* of a bribe is equally guilty with the taker. But in addition to the penalties imposed by the law, every official must have seen that, to come forward and admit that he had paid money to obtain the promotion to which perhaps he considered he was fairly entitled, or to obtain a transfer to a more healthy climate, or to avoid a transfer to a less healthy one, was to court degradation from the promotion or location which he had obtained at a considerable expense.

As to the immunity from criminal prosecution it is unnecessary to say much. One of the Judges of the Bombay

* See s. 116 P. C. ill. (a).

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High Court, in a published minute, has shown that in England the King's pardon to an officer coming into his office by a corrupt bargain, may save such officer from any criminal prosecution in respect of the corrupt bargain. There is no reason to suppose that the same principle does not hold good in this country. An analogous principle is to be found in the section of the Criminal Procedure Code, under which certain Judges and public servants cannot be prosecuted for offences of which they are accused as such Judges or public servants, except with the previous sanction of Government. *

The question as to the legality of the promise of immunity from departmental punishment or loss is far more difficult. The only well-known precedent is the famous case of the Earl of Macclesfield, who about a century and three quarters ago, was impeached before the House of Lords by the House of Commons, the offence of the accused Earl being that he had, as Lord Chancellor, accepted moneys from the Masters in Chancery on their admission into their offices. There was no doubt about the facts, which were admitted, the Earl's advisers contending that the payments were not in themselves illegal, but according to a well-known custom. So far there was no difficulty in persuading the Masters who had made the payments to admit the same.

But there was this difficulty, that by the Statute 5 and 6, Edw. VI., c. 16, which applied to all offices relating to the administration of justice or services of trust, every person paying money for his office was forthwith adjudged a disabled person in the law to all intents and purposes, to have, occupy, or enjoy the said office. It was obvious that, with the terror of this statute hanging over them, the Masters in Chancery would refuse to give evidence which would immediately deprive them of these offices; and there was no power by which they could be compelled to give evidence incriminating themselves. The obvious remedy for such a state of things was, to pass an Act insuring to the Masters who gave evidence, the full enjoyment of their offices without fear from punishment or loss. This was accordingly done.

Was a similar remedy feasible in the present case? At the outset it is evident that there would have been great difficulty in obtaining an Act of the Legislative Council without spoiling the evidence for the prosecution. It must naturally have been to the interests of several persons to burke further inquiry. If once information had got abroad of what was being done, not a stone would have been left unturned to break up the prosecution. But even, supposing that by speedy and confi-

* s. 197 C. P. C.

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dential communications between the Bombay Government and the Government of India, arrangements could have been made for an Indemnity Act being introduced and passed in one sitting, the further question* arises, whether the Indian Legislature can pass an Act overriding an Act of the Imperial Legislature, and, in fact, affecting the prerogative of the Crown. For it is clear that by 49 George III, c. 126, the provisions of 5 and 6, Edw. VI., c. 16, were made applicable to certain offices in India, and it was provided that all appointments forfeited under the Act were immediately to vest in, and belong to, His Majesty, his heirs and successors. Passing by these difficulties, there remains the interesting question, whether the Statute 49, George III, c. 126, does really apply to such an appointment as that of Mamlatdar. It seems to have been taken for granted that it extended 5 and 6, Edw. VI., c. 16 to *all* Indian appointments. Stephen, in his Digest of the Criminal Law, Arts. 133 and 134, treats of "selling offices," and "making interest for offices for reward," quoting in the foot-notes 5 and 6, Edw. VI, c. 16. s. 1, and 49 George III, c. 126, ss. 2, 3 and 4, while Art. 132, in the foot-note of which are quoted 5 and 6 Edw. VI., c. 16 and 49 George III, c. 126, s. 1. runs as follows :—

"DEFINITION OF OFFICE. The word 'office' in Articles 133 and 134 includes every office in the gift of the Crown, and all commissions, civil, naval, and military, and all places or employments in any public department or office whatever, in any part of Her Majesty's dominions whatever, and all deputations to any such office, and every participation in the profits of any such office or deputation." The question is, whether that definition is correct. There is nothing in 5 and 6 Edw. VI., c. 16, defining the 'office' beyond that the Act purports to apply to "those Courts, places, or rooms where there is requisite to be had the true administration of justice or service of trust." There remains then sec. 1 of 49 George III, c. 126. After reciting the provisions of 5 and 6, Edw. VI., c. 16, it proceeds :—

> "The said Act, and all the provisions therein contained, shall extend and be construed to extend to Scotland and Ireland, and to all offices in the gift of the Crown, or of any office appointed by the Crown, and all commissions, civil, military, or naval, and to all places and employments, and to all deputations to any such offices, commissions, places or employments in the respective departments or offices, or under the appointment or superintendance and control of the Lord High Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasurer, the Secretary of State, the Lord Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, [the Master-General

* [It would appear that the Indian Legislature can pass such an Act, provided it does not derogate from the prerogative of the Crown. 24 and 25 Vic., c. 67, ss. 22, 52.—ED.]

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and principal officers of Her Majesty's ordnance],* the Commander-in-Chief, [the Secretary of War, the Paymaster General of Her Majesty's Forces, the Commissioners for the affairs of India, the Commissioners of the Excise, the Treasurer of the Navy, the Commisioners of the Navy, the Commisioners for Victualling, the Commissioners of Transports, the Commissary General, the Store-keeper General], * and also the principal officers of any other public department or office of His Majesty's Government in any part of the United Kingdom, or in in any of Her Majesty's dominions, colonies, or plantations, which now belong, or hereafter may belong to His Majesty, *and also to all offices, commissions, places and employments belonging to, or under the appointment or control of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*, in as full and ample a manner as if the provisions of the said Act were repealed as to all such offices, commissions, places and employments, and made part of this Act."

Now if Sir J. Stephen is correct in his assertion, that the effect of the above provision is to apply the Act 5 and 6 Edw. VI., c. 16 to "all places or employments in any public department or office whatever in any part of (His or) Her Majesty's dominions whatever," then it is strange that simpler and briefer language was not used. To come to the various clauses of the section, it is evident that the office of Mamlatdar is not in the gift of the Crown or of any office appointed by the Crown. It is in the gift of the Commissioner of the Division, who is appointed by the Bombay Government. Nor is a Mamlatdar the principal officer of any public department or office of Her Majesty's Government in any part of Her Majesty's dominions. But if the word *of* and not *to* be read before the words "the principal officers" in the above clause, then it can fairly be said that the place of Mamlatdar is in the department or office, or under the appointment or superintendence and control of the Commissioner, who is the principal officer of the Revenue Department of Her Majesty's Government in a Division of the Bombay Presidency. So, too, in one sense it may be said, that the office of Mamlatdar is one under the control† of the Secretary of State for India, who now represents the East India Company: for the Secretary of State practically controls every official in India. But the objection to the above interpretation is that it proves too much. If the Act applies to every employment in every public department, then the lowest menial, whose name is borne in the list of employés of any office, comes within the terms of the Act. Not long ago there was a report in the Bombay papers of the case of a man who

* [The words we have placed in brackets were repealed by the English Statute Law Revision Act (No. 2).—ED.]

† [Yes, in one sense. See. 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85, s. 75. But the only officers who are strictly under the control of the Secretary of State, are those who are not removable except with his sanction.—ED.]

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charged an accused person before a Presidency Magistrate with cheating. in that the accused took from him the sum of Rs. 12 promising, in consideration of the said payment, to to procure for him the post of peon in the High Court, the duties of which office, he was told, consisted in carrying the Judge Saheb's tiffin-basket to the Court. Now it is clear from this complainant's admission, that he gave a reward or profit for the purchase of an office, and if the Act in question applies to any office whatever, then this man "shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of a misdemeanour." The law is imperative: The man who pays anything as a consideration for getting any office or employment is not only to be deprived of such office if he obtains the same, but *he must be prosecuted as well.* (See the remarks on p. 211 of "The Quarter" in the July No. of this Review).

Where and how must he be prosecuted? Our Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes do not recognize any offence under the term "misdemeanour." There is no punishment provided for such a crime.* Reference may, no doubt, be made to the Act 42, Geo. III, c. 85—"an Act for the trying and punishing in Great Britain persons, holding public employments, for offences committed abroad." Curiously enough there was recently a prosecution under this very Act before Baron Pollock and a special jury. (See the case of *The Queen* vs. *Turner*, *Times* Law Reports, 7th August 1889). The defendant in that case had been acting Consul at Buenos Ayres, and the charges against him practically classed themselves into those of misfeasance and malversation in his office, neglecting to keep proper books and render proper accounts to the departments in England. His counsel admitted that there was no defence to the charge and indictment for a misdemeanour. But would the Act of 42 Geo. III, be applicable to the person above mentioned, or to the Bombay official whose case is now under consideration? The Act provides that in the case of any one holding or exercising any public station, capacity, or employment out of Great Britain, and committing any crime, misdemeanour or offence in the execution, or under colour, or in the exercise of such station, office, capacity or employment, every such crime, &c., may be prosecuted or enquired of, or heard and determined in the Court of King's Bench. Can it be said that the officials to whom the guarantee was given, did, in the execution, or under colour, or in the exercise of their office, make the

* [It would appear that in such cases the substantive law and punishment to be applied are the English Criminal law, while the procedure should be that of Indian law. See *e.g.*, 33 Geo. III. c. 52, s. 152, s. 156 and 7 Bom. H. C, 128: also 1 B.L.R., Orig. Cr. 1. See our "Comparative Criminal Jurisprudence," vol. I., pages 3. 255.—ED.]

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payments which they admitted, to obtain promotion, &c. ? Whether this question be answered in the negative or the affirmative, difficulties still remain. If in the negative, then how must the misdemeanants be adjudged guilty? If in the affirmative, then must all the self-incriminating officials be sent to England to appear in the Court of Queen's Bench. * In the same way, if the Act of 49 Geo. III applies, does it not follow that no Indian official can fill up the vacant appointments, the right of which was absolutely vested in Her Majesty? † The fourteenth section of this Act requires notice. It provides that all offences committed against the provisions of 5 and 6, Edw. VI, c. 16, and this Act, by any Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person having the Chief Command, Civil or Military, in any of Her Majesty's dominions, colonies or plantations, or his or their Secretary or Secretaries, may and shall be

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* [We think not. Is not the Westminister King's Bench jurisdiction merely *supplementary?* See preamble to 42 Geo. III. c. 85 :—"Whereas persons holding and exercising public employments out of Great Britain often escape punishment for offences committed by them for want of Courts having a sufficient jurisdiction *in. or by reason of their departing from, the country*, or place where such offences have been committed, *and that such persons cannot be tried in Great Britain for such offences as the law now stands*, inasmuch as such offences cannot be said to have been committed within the body of any county, &c.". Does not this assume that there was no difficulty about the prosecution in India? Is there any instance of the Supreme Court ever having failed to act on the maxim *boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem* ?

Now s. 1 of thls Act, which speaks of all persons employed in the public service, enacts that they *may* be prosecuted and enquired of and heard and determined in the Court of King's Bench. Sec. 14 of 49 Geo. III. c. 126 (quoted by the Reviewer) uses the words *may* and *shall*, but the only persons enumerated in the section are "any Governor, Lieutenant-Governors, or persons having the Chief Command, Civil or Military. in any of His Majesty's dominions, colonies, or plantations, or his or their Secretary or Secretaries." Possibly the word "shall" is to be read only with "heard and determined." *If* they are prosecuted at Westminister, the procedure shall be the same as, &c. But it may be that it was thought advisable that such high officials should be prosecuted only in England. However that may be, the preamble to 42 Geo. III. c. 85 shows that such offences might be tried in India. It recites 11 Will. III. c. 12, 13 Geo. III., c. 63, and 24 Geo. Sess. 2, c. 25. Now 13 Geo III. c. 63 refers to the receipt of presents, and s. 39, which permits trial in the King's Bench, runs on as follows : "and all such persons so offending, *and not having been before tried for the same offence in India*, shall, on conviction, &c." The last-mentioned Act provides for the taking of depositions in India, owing to the difficulty of proving in England offences committed in India. Subject to s. 197 C.P.C , could not a District Magistrate institute cases under these Statutes, and give (within his powers) such punishment as is provided by English law, the trial being conducted according to Indian procedure ?—ED.]

† [Is not this modified by subsequent enactments, *e.g.*, Charter Act of 1833, s.s. 75, 78 ?—ED]

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prosecuted and enquired of and heard and determined in His Majesty's Court of King's Bench at Westminister in like manner as any crime, offence, or misdemeanour committed by any person holding a public employment abroad may be prosecuted and enquired of under the provisions of the Act 42, Geo. III, c. 85. The special mention of this latter named Act is note worthy, and suggests the question whether the Act was intended to apply to every office in every department in the East Indies.

Enough has been said to show that the whole matter is one of extreme difficulty. One thing is clear, and that is, that with our Penal Code there is not the slightest necessity for any one of these Acts, certainly as regards the subordinate officials in this country. If an Indemnity Act is to be passed upholding the guarantee, the opportunity can be taken of removing all doubts, and making it clear for the future that the Act of 49 Geo. III is not in force in India. If it be necessary to wait till the next Session of the British Parliament for this to be done, there need be no anxiety about the delay. The 5 and 6 Edw. VI., c. 16, which is made part of the 49 Geo. III, c. 126, provides that all acts done by any person, by authority of the office which ought to be forfeited, before such person be removed from the office, shall remain good and sufficient in law in such like manner as if the Act had never been passed. No difficulty therefore will be felt even though we may have to wait till next year for the whole matter to be cleared up. It is manifestly inexpedient that there should be any uncertainty about such points as have been indicated above, for it will be many years yet before native officials will be taught to universally look on the purchase of an office as an immoral act. If it be the fact that, under the law as it at present stands, any official of whatever rank, in whatever department in India, commits a misdemeanour, who does any of the following things directly or indirectly :—

(a.) Receives, or agrees to receive any reward or profit for any interest, request or negociation about any office, or under pretence of using any such interest, making any such request, or being concerned in any such negociation :

(b.) Gives, or procures to be given any profit or reward, or makes or procures to be made any agreement for the giving of any profit or reward for any such request or negociation as aforesaid :

(c.) Solicits, recommends, or negociates in any manner, as to any appointment to, or resignation of, any office in expectation of any reward or profit ;

and, in the same way, if every one commits a misdemeanour who does any of the following things in respect of any office, or

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any appointment to, or resignation of any office, or any consent to any such appointment or resignation, that is to say, every one who directly or indirectly—

(a.) Sells the same or receives any reward or profit from the sale thereof, or agreeds to do so:

(b.) Purchases, or gives any reward or profit for the purchase thereof, or agrees or promises to do so;

and if whoever commits either of these misdemeanours upon its commission, forfeits to the Queen any right which he may have in the office, and is disabled to hold it for life, and it is not lawful for the Queen to dispense him from such disability; [all the above is taken from Stephen's Digest,] then the sooner the above law is declared inapplicable to India the better.

To return to the narrative of events: Mr. Ommaney, being instructed to give the guarantee above described, apparently had no difficulty in procuring evidence in abundance, which resulted in a criminal complaint being laid against Hanmantrao in the Magistrate's Court, and the suspension of Mr. Crawford. Hanmantrao, according to his own showing, was to Mr. Crawford what Cottingham had been to the Earl of Macclesfield. The result of his arrest may be told in a few words: He was tried by the District Magistrate of Poona, the principal witnesses against him being certain "guaranteed" officials, and he was convicted of an offence under section 161 of the Indian Penal Code. He appealed to the Sessions Judge of Poona, but the conviction and sentences were affirmed. He made no further attempt to contest the justice of his conviction; and subsequently, while in jail, he made a detailed statement giving a history of his career.

The result of Mr. Crawford's suspension was his attempted flight. In order to prevent his escape from Bombay harbour, a complaint was laid against him in the Poona Magistrate's Court, and he was brought back to Poona, and at once set at liberty on substantial bail being given. After some delay the sanction to his criminal prosecution was withdrawn by Government, and it was determined to proceed against him under Act XXXVII of 1850, (For regulating inquiries into the behaviour of Public Servants.) This action, taken by Government, suggests some interesting legal points. In the first place it was contended that Government, having instituted the criminal prosecution for alleged offences under the Indian Penal Code, had no power to put an end to that prosecution, and accordingly Mr. Crawford's advisers made an application to the Sessions Judge of Poona, to call for the Magistrate's proceedings, and to report them to the High Court with a view to the Magistrate's order being set aside, so that enquiry

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on the criminal complaint might proceed in the ordinary way. The Sessions Judge rejected this application, holding that, as according to the Criminal Procedure Code, no prosecution of Mr. Crawford in the Magistrate's Court could proceed without the sanction of Government, and as Government had withdrawn that sanction, it followed that the magisterial proceedings came to an end, and no power, except that of Government, could resuscitate them. This view is apparently correct: it was not further contested by Mr. Crawford's advisers.

A more interesting question arises as to the reason which led Mr. Crawford's advisers to insist on the prosecution before the Magistrate being proceeded with, and led Government to withdraw the sanction to that prosecution, so that the enquiry might not be made in the ordinary Criminal Courts. The papers which have now been made public show, that the reason was the same, *i. e.*, the supposition that if the complaint in the Magistrate's Court had been proceeded with, Mr. Crawford must eventually have been tried in the Bombay High Court before a jury of his own countrymen of the Presidency town. On both sides it seems to have been admitted that, under such circumstances, Mr. Crawford stood a very good chance of being acquitted. The exact reason for this idea is not very apparent. Possibly it was due to the supposition that, in the presidency towns the anti-official feeling is stronger than in the mofussil, and that this being a Government prosecution, the sympathy of the jury would naturally be on the side of the accused. There are rumours also as to the idiosyncrasies of Bombay jurors in favour of acquittals: indeed, we have heard it said, that if A. commits murder in broad daylight on the Esplanade, Mr. Justice——and a Bombay jury will acquit him. This, of course, may be an exaggerated way of describing the large percentage of acquittals in the Criminal Sessions in the Bombay High Court. But the point to be noticed is that, if the complaint against Mr. Crawford had proceeded in the Poona Magistrate's Court, it is most improbable that he would eventually have been tried in the Bombay High Court. The provisions of the "Ilbert Bill" (Act III of 1884) seem to have been totally ignored. No doubt the accused could have claimed to be tried by a jury, of which not less than half the number should be Europeans or Americans, or both Europeans and Americans; and, if in the opinion of the District Magistrate the offence could not have been adequately punished by him (the limit of his powers in such cases being six months' imprisonment and Rs. 2,000 fine) he would have

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committed the accused to the Poona Court of Session ;* and the only way in which the case could have been moved from that Court to the High Court, would have been by an application under section 526 of the Criminal Procedure Code, in which case it would have been necessary to show—

(a.) That a fair and impartial inquiry or trial could not be had in the Poona Sessions Court, or

(b.) that some question of law of unusual difficulty was likely to arise, or

(c.) that a view of the place, in or near which the offences had been committed, would be required for the satisfactory inquiry into or trial of the same, or

(d.) that an order under this section would tend to the general convenience of the parties or witnesses, or

(e.) that such an order was expedient for the ends of justice.

Most of these clauses have manifestly no application. There was no question of law even of ordinary difficulty. As the report of the Special Commissioners show, the question was simply as to the appreciation if evidence. No view of the place was necessary. The removal of the case to Bombay would not have tended to the convenience of the witnesses, who nearly all belonged to the Deccan. Poona is a large place, and it is difficult to suppose that there are not numerous non-officials in the list of jurors. Indeed, the only reason that can be imagined. on which an order of removal might have been deemed expedient for the ends of justice, was the high position of the accused person, and the supposed necessity for his being tried in a Court presided over by a Sessions Judge who had not been his junior in the service. It is questionable whether this would have been considered a valid reason by the Bombay High Court. But putting this aside, and assuming that Mr. Crawford would have been tried in a Criminal Court, whether in Poona or Bombay, fairly competent to try him, it may be seriously asked, what advantage was to be expected from removing the case from the ordinary Courts to a special Commission? Assuming that the Court before which the case would eventually have come, was likely to be too rigidly bound by the formal rules of evidence, is there any reason to suppose that Special Commissioners, under Act XXXVII of 1850, would not feel themselves equally bound? No rules of procedure would have been in the way in a Criminal Court. Three charges might have been tried in

* [In the case of Magistrates outside a Presidency town, the commitment must be to the Court of Session. It is only in the case of offences punishable with death or transportation for life, that the commitment shall be to the High Court. s. 447 C.P.C.—ED.]

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one trial, and any number of such threefold cases could have been proceeded with, one after the other. There would, indeed, have been a positive advantage in the procedure of the ordinary Criminal Courts, for, as new cases came to light, they would have been brought forward without any opposition; whereas before the Commissioners an attempt was made to bring forward the "Akalkot case" which had not been included in the original list of charges, and the Commissioners refused to hear it. Under section 22 of Act XXXVII of 1850, "Government may order additional articles of charge to be framed, in which case the inquiry into the truth of such additional charges shall be made in the same manner as is herein directed with respect to the original charges" The Commissioners seem to have read this as necessitating the appointment of fresh Commissioners, of the formal re-appointment of the old Commissioners, and accordingly declined to inquire into the "Akalkot case." This view is a very questionable one; but the Bombay Government apparently did not think it worth while to contest the point. There is, again, another positive disadvantage in the procedure laid down by the Act. Under section 10, "a copy of the articles of charge, and list of the documents and witnesses by which each charge is to be sustained, shall be delivered to the person accused at least three days before the beginning of the inquiry, exclusive of the day of delivery and the first day of the inquiry," and by section 14 no new evidence may be brought forward except with the special permission of the Commissioners. There is no such hampering rule in the Code of Criminal Procedure: until the prosecution closes,* any available evidence may be adduced.

But there is a further objection to the resort to Act XXXVII of 1850 in such a case as the one now under consideration. The Act is "for regulating inquiries into the behaviour of public servants." It is submitted that it was never intended that the Act should apply to cases in which specific offences under the Indian Penal Code are alleged against public servants: it was meant to apply to cases of "behaviour," *i.e.*, cases in which the offender is said to have been guilty of conduct not becoming the position of a high public servant, though he might not have actually transgressed the ordinary penal law.

Act XXXVII of 1850 provides for "a formal and public inquiry into the truth of any imputation of misbehaviour by any person not removable from his office without the sanction of Government." It is absurd to say that the charges against

* [Evidence which appears essential must be taken at any stage of a case, s. 540, C.P.C.—ED.]

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Mr. Crawford were mere imputations of misbehaviour. The point is one of importance, not merely as affecting Mr. Crawford's case, which is now a thing of the past, but as affecting any future cases of misconduct which may be hereafter alleged against public officers of high position.

So much for the Commission proper, and lessons to be learned from it. Some legal offshoots of the case now call for notice, and will repay consideration.

As shown above, Hanmantrao, who was alleged to be Mr. Crawford's "Cottingham" or general agent, had been tried and convicted in August-September 1888. In that trial certain "guaranteed" officials had given evidence implicating themselves. The report of the Special Commissioners shows that they commenced their inquiry into the charges against Mr. Crawford on the 23rd October 1888. On the next day one Ganesh Narayen Sathe laid a criminal complaint in the Poona Magistrate's Court against six of the officials who had given evidence, charging them with offences under sections 162, 163 and 109 of the Indian Penal Code. These very men who were thus accused were to give evidence before the Commission then sitting, and Sathe has since admitted, in a deposition on solemn affirmation, what indeed was self-evident from the first, that his sole object in laying the complaint was to prevent the fact of Mr. Crawford having taken bribes being proved from the mouths of these witnesses: in short, he wished to intimidate the witnesses and prevent them from deposing according to their evidence in the Hanmantrao trial, by showing them that by their self-incriminating statements they laid themselves open to criminal prosecution. The District Magistrate examined Sathe on solemn affirmation when he took the complaint, and finding that Sathe disavowed all personal knowledge of the alleged offences, the complaint being simply based on newspaper reports, he dismissed it, holding that in his judgment there was not sufficient ground for proceeding (section 203 Criminal Procedure Code.) Sathe was not dissatisfied: he had attained his object of frightening the witnesses, as he promptly published in the newspapers a copy of his complaint, thus in effect saying to the witnesses, "See what a rod in pickle there is in store for you." So Sathe took no further action. But the newspapers were also seen by a Judge of the local High Court, and he called for the proceedings and for a report from the Magistrate as to why he had dismissed the complaint. The Magistrate naturally replied:—because the sole object of the complainant was to intimidate the principal witnesses in an important State trial. If this was not in his judgment, and in the judgment of everyone

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else, sufficient ground for not proceeding, it is difficult to imagine what would be sufficient ground. Thereupon the High Court issued notices to the accused officials to show cause why the Magistrate's order dismissing the complaint against them should not be set aside. The matter eventually came on before a Full Bench of the High Court, which decided that—

(1.) The Magistrate could not dismiss the complaint under section 203, until he had examined the complainant, and this he appears not to have done. As the complainant was not examined by the Magistrate, it is impossible to say whether or no there was other evidence forthcoming in support of the prosecution.

(2.) The Magistrate, in regarding the complainant's motive, failed to exercise his discretionary powers of summary dismissal within the limits assigned to it by section 203, and what he had to consider was, whether there was *primâ facie* evidence of a criminal offence, which in his judgment called upon the alleged offenders to answer; the inquiry before the Crawford Commission was a matter entirely outside the facts bearing on the alleged offence, which the Magistrate could not therefore import into the question before him.

With regard to the first point, it is to be noted that without seeing Sathe's original complaint, it is impossible to say whether it bears the record of his examination by the Magistrate. It is clear from his own petitions published in the newspapers that he was examined: He said; "I have already been examined on oath by Mr. Vidal at the very time I presented the complaint."

With regard to the second point the correctness of the broad principle of law laid down seems clear. As was said in the judgment of the Full Bench, "the motives by which complainants are treated (? actuated) must necessarily be of the most varied description, and any attempt to determine them would open out a very wide and speculative field of inquiry." But with submission it may be asked, whether, to speak more accurately, the mistake of the Magistrate was not rather that he dismissed the complaint instead of postponing taking action thereon. He may have been quite wrong in noticing the complainant's motives, but was be not bound to take judicial notice of the obvious result of his immediately issuing process against the accused persons? Suppose the charge against these persons had been that they had

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intentionally given false evidence in proceedings before a Committing Magistrate, and they were about to repeat that evidence on the morrow in the Sessions Court, no High Court in the country would say that a Magistrate in refusing to take immediate action on such a complaint had failed to exercise his discretion under section 203.* So here, there is no doubt that the prosecution of Hanmantrao, and the inquiry into the charges against Mr. Crawford before the special Commissioners, were part and parcel of the same proceedings. It was impossible for the District Magistrate to ignore the "Crawford Commission," which was legally constituted by statute. What no doubt he might have done was to postpone taking action on Sathe's complaint till the proceedings before the special Commission were concluded. They were concluded when the Full Bench gave its decision, and therefore all that remained was to inform Sathe that he could renew his complaint before the District Magistrate, the former dismissal thereof for reasons which were temporary, not barring further inquiry.

The Full Bench returned the original complaint to the Magistrate to be dealt with according to law. Sathe did not relish this. He implored not to be forced to appear before the Magistrate. He said:—"In the matter of my complaint of the 24th October 1888, which, without any further action on my part, the High Court has, in the exercise of its powers of supervision, returned to this Court for a formal inquiry and disposal. . . . I beg most distinctly to inform you that I have no personal knowledge of the facts and circumstances of Mr. Hanmantrao's cases, but that my complaint was based simply and only on the reports of those cases as reported in the newspapers. . . . I have not a particle of other evidence to produce. . . . As to my intended examination on oath, I have already been examined on oath by Mr Vidal at the very time I presented the complaint. . . . There is no earthly chance of your eliciting anything more from me in the shape of evidence by subjecting me to any further examination." Eventually the Magistrate succeeded in getting hold of Sathe and examining him, but as the man could give no further information, and admitted having written the original complaint at the dictation of a notorious intriguer, and begged to be allowed to withdraw the complaint, the object in making it having ceased to exist "now that Mr. Crawford's case is over," the

* [In a case not nearly so strong as the one put by the Reviewer, the Calcutta High Court upset the order of a District Judge, directing prosecution of a witness for perjury, made before the close of the case, on the ground that such action might intimidate the other witnesses who had not been examined.—ED.]

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Magistrate gave permission, and Sathe, well satisfied, was at last free from the magisterial proceedings. But the Judge of the local High Court was not satisfied, and again called for the proceedings, and eventually a Division Court, consisting of Scott and Jardine, J. J., in elaborate judgments, which filled many columns of the local newspapers, decided that—the Magistrate was quite wrong, but no further action was necessary! It would be hardly profitable to comment on those judgments in detail: it will suffice to mention one or two points which are of general importance. Mr. Justice Scott held that "in view of events which have occurred since the complaint was first lodged, I do not think the High Court is called upon, in its discretionary exercise of the revisional powers conferred on it by section 439, to remand the complaint once more." But was not that the very ground on which the District Magistrate had acted, and was it not directly contrary to the judgment of the Full Bench, which held that the discretion in such cases was simply to consider whether there was *primâ facie* evidence of a criminal offence? Why should the discretion be different in the one case from the other? Also, Mr. Justice Scott held: "Had the matter been merely a private fraud, the Magistrate might perhaps have refused to listen to a complainant who was used as a tool by persons seeking to set justice in motion from a corrupt motive. But when the offence is against the public interests, the truth of the complaint, and the amount of evidence of crime it discloses, are alone considered." This may be good law in England, but it is submitted that there is not in the Criminal Procedure Code one single section that affords any foundation for such a distinction. According to the Full Bence decision the Magistrate was not entitled to look at any extraneous facts: all he had to consider was the evidence of the alleged offence.

In the same way Mr. Justice Jardine held:—"The complaint relates to the purchasing of the judicial office. The question then is, whether this offence is to be regarded as so slight as to justify a Magistrate in dismissing the complaint without discussing the incriminating evidence." And then, after copious reference to various and extremely ancient English authorities, the learned Judge held:—"I am of opinion that Mr. East (the Magistrate), in using the powers with which the law supplies him, ought to have brought more into his consideration the seriousness of the offence complained of, as viewed by Parliament, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the Indian Legislature." He also held that "as a matter of strict law we ought, perhaps, to enforce obedience to the judgment of the Full Bench," but there

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were "doubts whether the complainant's motives are proper, and if he came here, either in this jurisdiction of revision or for an information, we would have to consider whether he has clean hands." But "we as Judges have no prerogative to sanction any violation of the law." Still "in the exercise of our revisional jurisdiction the Court has a certain amount of judicial discretion," and as the question of the self-incriminating officials was engaging the attention of the Secretary of State and the Governor in Council, it was inexpedient to take "any action which might intermeddle with the executive authority." Such was the final deliverance of the highest Court in the Presidency. One may with submission ask, whether it was not inexpedient, while the Crawford Commission was sitting, to intermeddle with the witnesses called by the executive authority before that Commission, and, in fact, to threaten them with the pains and penalties of criminal prosecution for giving the evidence which they were induced to give under a solemn guarantee from the executive authority? There is a still more startling instance of intermeddling with the executive on the part of the highest Court of the province, which, apart from the special circumstances of the Crawford case, raises an interesting point of constitutional law. The Judge who, as shown above, had called for the magisterial proceedings in the matter of Sathe's complaint, and in conjunction with a brother judge had issued notices to certain of the self-incriminating witnesses to show cause why they should not be criminally prosecuted, did at the same time record a minute for perusal by his brother judges, in which he contended that the High Court should at once call upon Government to immediately suspend or dismiss those self-incriminating officials who were exercising magisterial powers. His brother judge, who had joined him in directing notices to be issued to the officials as described above, also recorded a minute to the same effect, and as the rest of the judges of the High Court considered that it would be unconstitutional and improper for any such representation to be made to Government, these two dissentient judges, on their own individual responsibility, forwarded their minutes to the Governor in Council, calling on him to at once perform the "happy despatch" as regards the unfortunate self-incriminating Magistrates. The question whether these officials had by their self-incriminating statements there and then forfeited their offices need not now be discussed. The answer depends in a great measure upon the further qnestion as to the applicability to all Indian appointments of the Acts 5 and 6 Edw. VI., c. 16, and 49, George III, c. 126. This question has been dealt with above. The dissentient judges apparently

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relied on the quotation from Stephen, * without referring to the Acts themselves, and took the matter for granted. But the important point for consideration is, whether the dissentient judges were entitled by law to publicly address Government with their individual remonstrances. In short, have individual judges of the High Courts in this country the power of interpellating Government on any matter regarding the administration? It must be remarked that this was not the case of one or more judges addressing private and confidential communications to Government, pointing out that certain action taken by the executive in an important State matter, was open to objection on the ground of illegality. But the protest of the dissentient judges was made in a markedly public manner, and their minutes and letters addressed to Government were subsequently sent to the newspapers. Government were thus placed in a most awkward position in the important inquiry before the Special Commissioners. The action taken by the dissentient judges in protesting to Government that the self-incriminating officials should be immediately suspended or dismissed, was as notorious as the action taken by the same judges in calling upon certain of the same officials to show cause why they should not be criminally prosecuted, the offences alleged against them being founded on the evidence which they had given, and had repeated or were about to repeat as Government witnesses in the important State inquiry then proceeding. So widespread was the consternation caused by the action of the dissentient judges, that it was openly asserted that, as Government had been warned by the highest legal authority in the province that the guarantee was not worth the paper on which it was written, Government felt bound to repudiate the same, and it was left for the Government officials who were witnesses in the State inquiry, to make the self-incriminating admissions at their own risk. So disastrous would have been the consequences of any belief in such an assertion, that Government felt bound to telegraph to the Advocate-General, who was then counsel before the Special Commission, and direct him to contradict publicly the statements in the newspapers regarding repudiation by Government of the guarantee given by Mr. Ommaney, the statements being "utterly devoid of any foundation." This telegram was pointedly referred to in the minute of one of the dissentient judges; and so it was with open eyes that these judges took action which was directly calculated

* It is, perhaps, needless to point out that Stephen's "Crimes and Punishments" and "Crimlnal Procedure" are Digests and not Codes of acknowledged law.

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to provoke a collision between the judiciary and the executive. Nothing but Lord Reay's statesman like calm and moderation could have prevented the collision from taking place. The only minute besides those of the dissentient judges which has been published is that of Mr. Justice Scott, who recorded his opinion that the superintendence of the High Court would be of little avail, if self-incriminating Magistrates were allowed to remain in office, but that the High Court, acting as a body, and not as simple members of the public, would exceed their judicial and statutory powers, if they called upon Government to suspend or dismiss these men. It may be doubted whether Mr. Justice Scott is not wrong in his opinion as to the powers of the High Court as a body to address a remonstrance to Government on any general matter relating to the administration of justice, quite distinct from any specific case of alleged misconduct on the part of any judicial officer. Hitherto it seems to have been generally admitted that the Chief Justice of a High Court, as head of the department of justice in the province, for himself and for his brother judges, is at liberty to address Government on any matter of importance connected with the administration of justice.* But here the Chief Justice and the other judge declined to make any representation to Government. Their reasons have not been published—at least, we have not been able to find them in the files of the newspapers at our disposal, but it may easily be surmised that they objected, at an important stage of the State inquiry then proceeding to do anything which might be regarded as "intermeddling, with the executive." By what authority then, it may be asked, could the dissentient judges override that opinion, and individually and publicly, as Judges of the highest Court in the province, remonstrate with Government?

The above remarks have been made in documents published in the press both in England and India. Various other interesting questions have been raised, *e. g.*, the folly of keeping on in the service officers who are notoriously involved, the danger in India of the steady reduction in allowances which is going on, and which may go so far as to threaten to make irregular gain once more a temptation, and the serious difficulty arising from the depreciated wages of the Indian services. Then there is the important question, how far the Secretary of State is entitled to set aside solemn pledges made by an Indian

* [Government would no doubt gladly receive and consider any suggestions from its Chief Justice in such matters; but the law confers no such power on the High Court more than on any other person. The extent of administrative superintendence of High Courts over Subordinate Courts is defined in 24 and 25 Vic., c. 104, s. 15. The powers of the High Courts are defined in their respective Letters Patent.—ED.]

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Government. It is easy to understand that the pledge may be so highly disapproved of that the recall or forced resignation of the Governor, and perhaps of the members of his Council, would follow as a matter of course. But it is difficult to see how a solemn guarantee given by the representative of the Crown can be utterly set aside. Again, there is the most important statement made by Sir John Gorst in the House, that Parliament has no jurisdiction over the Government of Bombay, but only over the Secretary of State and his conduct in the matter. To discuss the correctness of this *dictum* would require more space than can be allowed at the end of the present article.

BARRISTER.

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THE QUARTER.

THE WEST.

Foreign Politics and Events.

THE Quarter has been one of inter-regal visits. At Aldershot the German Emperor expressed a hope that the ancient fellowship, which had existed between the armies of the two nations, would long continue. In common with the Shah, he was much impressed with the magnificient display of ships at the Naval Review at Spithead, and remarked that he could not understand the English people always croaking about their unpreparedness for war. The Emperor Joseph of Austria has visited Berlin, and there the Emperor William declared that Germany would hold firmly to her alliance with Austria, and that both armies would fight shoulder to shoulder to maintain peace. An alliance consisting of England, Germany, Austria and Italy should certainly ensure peace!

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire seems to be a question of time. Wherever the Central Asiatic races come down to the west or south, they get severed from the original stock; so the Ottoman Turks have become absorbed in the population of the conquered country, and there is now very little Tartar or Turcoman blood in them. Constantinople is propped up like a falling house. Russia is said to be aiming at getting a strong navy in the Black Sea, as she knows that without it she could again be prevented from reaching Constantinople. It is also said that Russia is about to distribute a million acres of land among the Mahomedans in the Caucasus. Such largesses in former reigns were a customary prelude to war with Turkey, the object being to keep the Musulmans quiet. The Sultan has recently ordered a careful inspection of the fortifications commanding the entrance to the Bosphorus from the Black Sea, and a commission of Germans and high Turkish officers have reported that every thing is in an admirable state of efficiency, and that there is no fear of the Russian fleet bring able to make a sudden dash on Constantinople.

Owing to the anarchy in Crete, martial law has been proclaimed. The Porte has declared to the Greek Government that the landing of troops in Crete will be regarded as a *casus belli*. Russian intrigues are said to be active in Athens with

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the object of forcing the Greek Government into a policy of intervention. It has been semi-officially stated that the Sultan has conceded certain demands made by the Cretans.

In France, President Carnot is proving himself a firm ruler. General Boulanger has been found guilty of treason and embezzlement, and MM. Dillon and Rochefort of complicity in treason. All three have been sentenced to deportation to a fortified place. The trial has taken place under the default *(contre le contumax)* procedure of the French Code. If the accused appear within six months from the date of sentence, they can demand a new trial; otherwise, the sentence becomes final. This being so, and the sentence carrying with it deprivation of civil and political rights, there are some who think that *le brav' général* well cross the silver streak and ask for a fresh trial. *Audaces fortuna juvat* It is hardly likely that the French Government will ask for extradition on the charge of embezzlement.

The Exhibition has been an unparallelled success, all being agreed that it eclipses all former exhibitions. Up to date about 12,000,000 people have paid for admission to the Eiffel Tower, which has falsified the predictions of those who predicted it would be a financial failure.

In Egypt fights and skirmishes with the Dervishes continue. Lord Salisbury has said in the House of Lords that the British Government has no intention of abandoning their task in Egypt until it is completed. The Samoan Conference has resulted in an agreement between England, America and Germany. The German claim to the supremacy of the whole island is abandoned.

Home Politics and Events.

The principal events have been the marriage of the Duke of Fife with the Princess Louise of Wales, the visits of the Shah and the German Emperor, the military and naval reviews, the great dock strike, and the withdrawal of Mr. Parnell's counsel from the Commission. "Have you seen the Shah?" has again become the necessary "gag" for every comic actor, and the inevitable "tag" for every music-hall song; and a "full, true and particular life" of the Shah can be bought in the streets for a half-penny. The strike of dock labourers comprised all branches of labour connected with the Port of London. No final settlement has yet been arrived at. Large sums of money in aid of the labourers have been received from Australia.

Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Plymouth, resented being called a separatist. He makes three propositions; (1) that there is no country where separation has been caused by the grant of

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autonomy: (2) that there are cases in the world where the separation of two countries has been caused by the refusal of local independence: (3) that abundant cases of separation have been prevented by the grant of local independence.

The press has adversely criticized Mr. Parnell's withdrawal from the Commission, and his explanation is generally disbelieved. The *Standard* says the withdrawal will be interpreted as an angry admission of the futility of the efforts he has made to exculpate himself and his party. Mr. Parnell admitted before the Commission, that all the important books of the League had been carried to Paris by Egan. A sum of nearly £100,000 is not accounted for. The feeling of the Home Rule party towards England may be inferred from the fact, that the casket given to Mr. Parnell with the freedom of the City of Edinburgh, was ornamented with the thistle and shamrock only, the rose being omitted.

Dr. Tanner has been sentenced to a month's imprisonment for assaulting Inspector Stephens, and to three months for defying the Court. Messrs. O'Brien and Gilhooly have been sentenced to two months' and six weeks' imprisonment respectively for instigating tenants not to pay rent. Mr. O'Brien's action against Lord Salisbury for libel has been dismissed. The jury found that murders and outrages were the natural consequence of the advice given by Mr. O'Brien, and that that was all Lord Salisbury meant to say. They also deliberately found that the words "murders and outrages" fairly represented the way in which people who took unlet farms had been treated during the last ten years. Such a verdict is calculated to strengthen the cause of law and order. There are signs, too, that the Americans are beginning to realise that, by giving shelter to assassins and dynamitards, they have been "hoist with their own petard." The verdict of the Coroner's Jury on the death of Dr. Cronin denounces the murder as a brutal crime, and declares that the Clannagael and other similar societies are injurious to American institutions.

Miscellaneous.

Mrs. Maybrick has been sentenced to death for poisoning her husband. There has been much public feeling on behalf of the accused, and the sentence has been commuted to penal servitude for life. Offers of marriage have, as usual, poured in. Probably those who have made them consider that death by arsenical poisoning (when the poison is administered by a fair and frail woman) is a sort of euthanasia, just as the Ghazi thinks that the infidel's sword lays open his path to Paradise.

There have been two more Whitechapel murders, making

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the eighth and ninth of these ghastly murders in the East-end. Mr. Stuart Cumberland, the thought reader, professes to have had a vision of the murderer, and is going to publish his portrait.

The Royal Grants Bill has been passed. It was supported by Mr. Gladstone. The Scotch Local Government Bill has been read a third time. The Tithes Bill has been withdrawn.

The Judges of the Queen's Bench Division have upheld the order of the Magistrate, Mr. Bridge, declining to grant a summons against the Duke of Cambridge for assault. It seems that the Magistrate really had recognised the eternal principle which Lord Coleridge so grandiloquently pointed out, to wit, the equality of all in the eyes of the law, and that it was in recognition of this principle that the Magistrate decided not to summon the Duke of Cambridge merely because he was a rich and royal man, and not a poor coal-heaver.

The peculiar fascination of the one farthing damages verdict proved irresistible to the arbitrators in the Chetwynd-Durham case. The verdict at the time was held to be a severe condemnation of Sir George Chetwynd, but he since seems to have been considerably recuperated.

The "*anemoen phronēma*" of Mr. Edison seems to be limitless, and he will probably end by putting a gridle round about the earth in less time than Puck did. His new telescope will enable a man in New York to see the features of a man in Boston.

Anglo-Indians will be sorry that Mr. Gladstone has condemned bi-metallism as tending to increase fluctuations; but he admits the evils which now exist, and thinks they may be palliated by the gradual issue of notes under £5 in value.

The quarter has witnessed a characteristic comparison of French and English fiction from "Ouida's" pen. She maintains that the type depicted in Daudet's Sappho may be frightful, but that it is not false. She denounces Mr. Rider Haggard's "pasteboard inanity," and sneers at the "lukewarm insipidity of English love." Madame Sarah Bernhardt has given a striking impersonation of "Lena" in the French version of Mr. F. C. Philips' "As in a Looking-Glass." In Macmillan's "Men of Action" Series, we have had 'Lord Lawrence' by Sir Richard Temple and 'Wellington' by George Hooper.

INDIA AND THE EAST.

External.

A concentration of 88,000 troops is said to have taken place in the Caucasus. The *Times* states that the Russian

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Government has granted another six millions of roubles to General Annenkoff for completing his Asiatic Railway scheme. In another direction Russian enterprise has received a rebuff, the expedition to Tibet under Colonel Pevtsoff having been stopped by the Chinese authorities in Kashgar.

Affairs on the Shan frontier are progressing towards a settlement, and there is every prospect of an amicable understanding being arrived at with the Siamese authorities. Three or four districts in Burmah are still troubled with dacoits; but the country seems likely to become quiet in far less time than Lower Burmah did. Good Government has had its natural results, the revenue having, in a few years, risen from Rx. 222,498 to Rx. 870,200. This is more than went into the King's treasury, as the monopolies, royalties, and taxes on commerce formerly levied were to a great extent misappropriated by rapacious ministers. The French Consulate at Mandalay has been definitely closed, and this seems to be a tacit admission on the part of France, that the annexation of Burmah has practically extinguished her interests in that region. Grants of 10,000 acres of land in Upper Burmah have been offered to planters on very favourable terms, but subject to the condition that 90 per cent. of the cultivators settled on the land shall be imported from Behar or Chota-Nagpore. The Commander-in-Chief, in a report to the Government of India, has stated that "the rulers of Upper Burmah have been persistently misrepresented in certain irresponsible quarters from the beginning of our occupation, and no pains have been spared to disparage the results obtained." Sir George White has shown that some of the strongest ministers of the ex-King were known to be the patrons of dacoits, from whose ill-gotten gains they did not scruple to swell their incomes. It has been said that the disarming of a village places it at the mercy of dacoits; but experience has shown how often the arms are the special prize of which the dacoits are in search, and how seldom they are used by the villagers to defend themselves.

Mr. Bradlaugh rather gave himself away to Sir John Gorst in putting some questions about the abdication of the Maharajah of Kashmir. The *St. James Gazette* expresses surprise, that when the Radicals take up the cause of oppressed Indians, they should make such an infelicitous choice of subjects.

The rebellion which had broken out in Badakshan against the Amir's authority, is not likely to assume dangerous proportions. In Sikkim matters are *in statu quo*. The purposes of the expedition seem to have been practically secured, though the absence of any treaty may necessitate expenditure on frontier defence posts.

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Mr. Digby has written an extremely silly pamphlet, entitled "India. The Queen-Empress's promises. How they are broken." Here is a specimen: "Could but Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India see the manner in which this Royal Lady (the Maharanee of Rewa) is treated, and could you, my lords and gentlemen, realise, even for a moment, what the incidents referred to mean to the Indian people, even though it be in the dying days of a session that these facts are placed in your hands, I am satisfied that Parliament would not be prorogued until justice was done. Alas! India is a long way off, Rewa is but a name, the Chandalin Maharani merely a shadow, and her moans too faint to be apprehended by ears filled with the din of British political strife!" *Solvuntur risu tabulæ!* Such bombastic clap-trap can only damage and discredit the cause in which it is employed. The tragic air is about on a par with that of the strolling player at a fair who, in personating Othello, calls out to Desdemona, "The 'angkurchif, the 'angkurchif!" Mr. Digby apparently does not get his facts from the *Statesman* in this instance, as he gives a glowing picture of the good Government of Kashmir. The *Statesman* says:—"For the last twenty-seven years the people of Kashmir have been suffering almost every evil that such a population *can* suffer. * * * * and when the Government, for the first time in the history of the province, attempts to secure an amelioration of matters, our native contemporaries either deny indignantly that there has been any misgovernment whatever, or denounce the Government in terms utterly unmeasured for having 'annexed' the province! The *Statesman* has not forsaken the cause of the native Princes. We never *can* forsake it, but when we see utterly untrue statements put forward against a course which we believe the Government has wisely and honestly entered upon, we shall never support what we believe to be untrue."*

* Persons like Mr. Digby actually do harm to the Indian people, as by setting up fictitious grievances they try the patience of the British Parliament and public, and draw away their attention from real grievances, such as the fever, which renders life a "living death" to the people in many district, and which can be removed or minimized by systematic sanitation, the low pay of the police, and other matters which affect the daily life and livelihood of millions far more than the 'faint moans' of the 'Chandalin Maharani.' Has anybody ever heard of the 'Chandalin Maharani?' Mr. Digby is like the boy who used to cry 'wolf' when there was no wolf, and when the wolf really come, no one believed him or went to his rescue. So when Mr. Digby shows up some real grievance, he will find that the British public won't believe him. The 'grievance' party must be in a very bad way if they have to come down to a 'Chandalin Maharani.'

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Internal.

In giving away the prizes at the Royal Indian Engineering College, Cooper's Hill, Lord Cross told the students that they were going out to a great field, where it was absolutely necessary that the British supremacy should be maintained: the British supremacy had given to India all which she at present enjoyed. So it has been stated that the claims of England will not be forgotten in passing orders on the Public Service Commission Report.

The so-called "charges" against Dr. Hall of Naini Jail have dwindled down to a complaint that Captain Hearsey, who was sentenced to simple imprisonment, was not treated as a first-class misdemeanant in England. Truly Pelion and Ossa have laboured with a mighty parturition, and have hardly brought forth a mosquito—much less the proverbial "*ridiculus mus.*" The term "first-class misdemeanant" is not known to the Indian statute law, or to the prison rules framed under it. When an offender commits an offence, for which an English Magistrate thinks treatment as a first-class misdemeanant would be an appropriate sentence, the Indian Magistrate sentences to fine only, as he knows that simple imprisonment means simply exemption at option from labour, but subjection in other respects to jail rules and discipline. We have, in our articles on "Comparative Penal Law," recommended the introduction of a third sort of simple confinement, such as is imposed under the Louisiana Penal Code and in England. Dr. Hall appears to have fallen a victim to his own good nature. We have been informed on good authority that Dr. Hall gave Captain Hearsey his own razor, when the latter indignantly exclaimed he would not allow "any native" to shave him; also that Dr. Hall personally induced a barrister to stand surety for Captain Hearsey, so that the latter might not be unnecessarily detained in jail. It is believed by many that the Captain never really supposed his request for an inquiry would be granted.

It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good, and the famine in Ganjam will probably result in a railway from Bezwada to Cuttack. In Behar there is some apprehension of continued scarcity, but throughout Bengal generally the outlook is much more hopeful. Some distress has been caused in Moorshedabad by the bursting of the Lalitakuri embankment.

The chief feature of the Jail Resolution for the year 1888 is, that the number of corporal punishments decreased from 2,430 to 1,891, the lowest number ever reached. The pendulum will now probably begin to swing back again. There are signs of this in the recent Educational Resolution of the Government of India. There is a substantial agreement among officials and representatives of the native community as to the existence of

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the evils of irreverence and disregard for authority, and corporal punishment is recognised as a suitable penalty in cases of aggrevated misconduct. The provision of efficient training schools is held to be the most effective means available for improving discipline. The use of text-books having a direct bearing on conduct is also recommended.

The Council of India Bill has been passed. In the discusssion on the Indian Budget, Sir John Gorst said there was no fear of a centralized India, since the settled policy of the India Government encouraged the financial, legislative, and administrative independence of the provinces. He further explained that the surplus of the Famine Fund had been spent on railways, irrigation, and in the reduction of debt, and in lessening the chance of famine by assisting the transport of food. As regards the Bombay Mamlatdars, Lord Cross has said that doubtless those who have offered bribes should be dismissed the Service with some compensation, but the victims of extortion should be retained in service, and guaranteed against prosecution. In this connection the article in the present number on the legal and constitutional aspects of the Crawford case deserves an attentive perusal. A strong reaction seems to have sprung up in Bombay, in favour of the Government, and hostile to the action of the remonstrating Judges.

The despatch of the coolie question, from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, has been published. Special legislation at present is deprecated on the ground that certain recently concerted measures are sufficient to meet the requirements of the case. The solution of the question must rest with the Supreme Government, as Assam and the N.-W. Provinces are also affected. It seems better that the labour-contract should be executed in the district where the coolie is recruited. If a coolie has been taken to Assam by false pretences, he must now either enter into a contract, or be left to his own resources in an unknown country, without any means of returning to his home.

Does the following indicate that a new era is dawning for the native press? A new newspaper, the "Saturday Herald," introduces itself to the public in the following pro-emium :—"We feel that we have a higher mission to fulfil than to abuse the European and glorify the Indian. In a word, the most objectionable features of the majority of the native papers will be found conspicuous by their absence in our columns." Excelsior! a strange device, but none the less noble!

Police, Law and Miscellaneous.

The Cantonments Bill has been passed, *minus* the chapter on immovable property, which is to be passed as a separate

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enactment in Calcutta. The Indian Merchandise Marks Amendment Act has also been passed, but its operation is to be suspended for a short time. The leper question is being reported on by Local Governments. In Bengal the attitude of the people may be described as one of apathy and indifference. Excepting the relatives of lepers, the people, *if asked*, will be in favour of segregation. But they do not show any keenness on the subject. In the in-wards of mofussil dispensaries, no objection is expressed if a leper occupies one of the beds. But there would be great alarm and indignation if a cholera or small-pox patient were not kept apart. Among the Hindus there seems to be a feeling (due to the example of the virtuous Sabitri ?) that a husband should not abandon a leprous wife and *vice versâ*. The Bengal Council has passed a Bill to enable the Port Commissioners to lend the Calcutta Corporation two lakhs of rupees for the road from Howrah Bridge to Sealdah.

In a case of cheating from Ranchee, an attempt was made to induce the High Court to quash the warrant that had issued ; in other words, to prevent the case coming to trial. Fortunately the attempt failed. It was the success of such attempts in the years 1868 to 1871 that had a good deal to do with the shaping of certain provisions in the 1872 Code of Procedure. In Reuter's case against the *Statesman*, there has been a judgment for the plaintiff with costs. The editor of the *Dacca Prokash* has been sentenced to a month's imprisonment and a fine of Rs 500 for defamation. In Madras. Colonel Moore, the President of the Municipal Commission, is suing Mr. Eardly Norton for defamation. There seems to be a strong feeling in Madras that the latter has hitherto had it too much his own way.

In the *Pioneer* defamation case, the judge directed an acquittal as there was nothing to connect the editor with publication in Calcutta. This ruling has been much criticised by the Bar, but we venture to think it is very sound common sense. An accused person is supposed to be treated with more consideration than a defendant in a civil suit. If A. borrows Rs. 50 from B, he can only be sued in the place where he borrowed the money, or where he resides. Why should an accused person be worse off ? If Mr. Justice Norris had ruled otherwise than he did, we should have had the *reductio ad absurdum* that Mr. Chesney might have been prosecuted in Karrachee or Burmah, in Shillong or Tuticorin. In another case, the Agra Bank cheque case, the learned Judge's finding on the facts has been upset by the appellate tribunal. In the Lahore defamation case, brought by Pundit Gopi Nath against the proprietor and editor of the *Kohinoor*, the accused

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persons acknowledged the falsity of their statements, and made a humble apology, which was accepted. The fine of Rs. 100 imposed on Karim Chand by the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, has been upheld by Mr. Mackie, the Divisional Judge. It seems that the accused showed the existence of a system of *dalali*, but the defamatory statement which Mr. Browne complained of had no connection with the question of *dalali*.

There has been a proposal to tax the hill-beer. What will Mr. Caine say when he hears that it is proposed to make a sort of whisky out of jute ends? The native Soondee or Kulwar could distil spirit out of almost anything —he sometimes makes to order a rich sort of invalid wine out of almonds, raisins, pistachio nuts and other ingredients. The Secretary of State's despatch on excise has laid down the following principles: (1.) that any extension of the habit of drinking among Indian populations is to be discouraged: (2.) that the tax on spirits should be as high as may be possible without giving rise to illicit methods of making and selling liquor: (3.) that, subject to these considerations, a maximum revenue should be raised from a minimum consumption of intoxicating liquors.

The Indian Police Reorganisation Scheme is taking a definite shape, and the necessity for increasing the rate of pay, and securing a better class of men is recognised.

There has been some discussion in the House of Lords regarding the silver plate duties. Lord Cross agreed with Lord Northbrook that the duty was in every way hurtful, and said he would give Mr. Goschen no peace until he had repealed it, and modified the laws relative to compulsory hall marking, and so facilitated the import into England of Indian silver plate.

A report has been issued on the operations of the Social Reform Committee of the Rajput Sirdars. Out of 194 marriages, the rules had only been contravened in 33 instances, and the breaches had been punished by fines. Concubinage, opium-smoking, hemp-taking and spirit-drinking are condemned. A Bombay paper mentions two recent marriages, in one of which the bride was 15 months and the bridegroom 32 years old. In the Hooghly district a bride of 8 months was recently wedded to a bridegroom of 28 years.

The Assam Behar Railway has been opened for traffic. Thefts and housebreakings have increased in places along the line, and it is now intended to place detectives of the regular Police at the Railway Stations, to give the Railway Police the benefit of their knowledge of bad characters. Tantia, the Central Provinces dacoit, has been captured.

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The performance of the "Yeomen of the Guard" at Simla is said to have been quite equal to the representation at the Savoy theatre.

In Russia the functions and jurisdiction of juries have been considerably curtailed by an Imperial Ukase. This change is the outcome of a prolonged agitation in Russia against trial by jury. The same feeling has been evinced in some other continental countries, and it exists to a great extent in England.

Obituary: Sir Salar Jung, Prime Minister of Hyderabad. This gentleman, when in England two years ago, published two papers in the *Nineteenth Century*, which attracted much attention, pointing out the danger to Mahomedans in India of any Russian advance to the Bosphorus. The perennial Nawab Abdul Lutif has had a letter from Arminius Vambéry, in which the Professor expresses his sympathy for the Indian Mahomedans, and tells them that, though English rule has its faults, it is perfection as compared with Russian rule.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

September 16th 1889.

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SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Review of the Revenue Administration of Province of Oudh, for the year ending 30th September 1888.

THIS Review consists of 36 pages of print; to which 88 pages of figures are tacked on as appendices. Its interest centres in the information it affords as to the working of the Rent Act of 1886:—

In the last year of the old Rent Act, notices of ejectment were issued to the number of 92,451, covering an area of 360,000 acres. By the new Rent Act the issue of these notices is restricted to certain specified cases. Every tenant is now secured by statute in the occupation of his holding for a term of seven years from the date of the last change in his rent or of the last alteration in the area of his holding. During this period he cannot be evicted except for arrears of rent upon an unsatisfied decree, or in execution of a decree for ejectment for certain breaches of the general conditions of agricultural occupation. At the close of each statutory period the tenant is liable to a statutory enhancement, or he may be removed from the holding by a notice of ejectment, on which a heavy court-fee is charged except where the statutory tenant has died and the notice is served on his heir. A notice of ejectment has to be served before the 15th of November, so that the objections of the tenant, if any, may be decided before the close of the agricultural year, and any notices issued in the year preceding that of this report were lodged in ignorance of the law.

During the year there were 2,369 notices or applications for ejectment, covering an area of 11,438 acres. Feudality still to a large extent contests the authority of the law in Oudh: *e. g.*, the Commissioner of Rae Bareli states that in some estates the landlord defies the law by a summary ejectment, "which the tenant may be too timid to resist by his only remedy, a suit for illegal ejectment." Clearly statistics of notices, applications and legal processes, are of less than no worth at all if the law can be overridden and flouted at will by brute force. The Deputy Commissioner of Bara Banki made the summary eviction of tenants by landlords the matter of very detailed inquiry through his supervisor kanúngos, with the result that he ascertained 1,290 cultivators to have been deprived of the possession of 1,927 acres, which is about half the area comprised in the formal notices.

Facts of this sort are admitted, though the Chief Secretary to Government, Oudh Revenue Department, can find it in his heart to believe that the action of the landlords in the removal of tenants is, "for the most part," within the provisions of the law. And of course *de minimis non curat lex. A propos*

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of the Bara Banki enquiry, and the statement of the Commissioner of Rae Bareli, this quotation from paragraph 52 of the Review shows that the law is evaded :—

> It will be observed that the provisions which limit to an anna in the rupee the enhancement on tenants who succeed an evicted statutory tenant, have not been observed. The districts vary greatly in this respect. In the Sitapur Division lands were, at least nominally, re-let at their former rent; in Lucknow the holdings were re-let at a great reduction. In Gonda and Sultanpur the new rents, although the aggregates are small, represent a rise of 97 and 35 per cent.

It is true enough that under sections 47 and 50 of the Act, a landlord who evicts a tenant after compensating him for improvements is entitled to an enhanced rent from the new tenant in proportion to the value of the improvement. That is but fair. But the arrangement entails loopholes for hole and corner subterfuge which need careful watching on the part of district officers. Statement No. XXXVI shows that no less than 8,874 notices of relinquishment were lodged by the tenants during the year, covering an area of 42,310 acres, an area nearly double that embraced by the notices of ejectment of all kinds. Nearly a third of the aggregate relinquishments were in Unao, and the Deputy Commissioner mentions that they were almost confined to the riparian mahâls of his district, where many of the cultivators are Kahârs, who as boatmen have other means of livelihood and are independent by character. These appear from his report to have suffered less than is usual from the floods of the Ganges.

We note that the officiating Deputy Commissioner of Hardoi, commenting on the considerable number of relinquishment notices in that district, expressed an opinion that they were forced by the landlords, "as a means of evading ejectments." In the Lucknow district not a single notice of enhancement of rent was served by landlords. Presumably they took the law into their own hands. Since district reports were sent in, information has been received by the Oudh Revenue Department, showing a remarkable increase in the number of ejectment notices issued in the current year. They amount to 3,078 covering 23,415 acres, and the increase is particularly marked in the districts of Partabgarh, Rae Bareli and Gonda. On the other hand notices of enhancement for the coming year have diminished from 197 to 115. Some officers express the opinion that the notices were evaded, but not to any material extent; that moderate enchancements are still submitted to partly from ignorance, partly from timidity, partly from old and friendly relations: others consider that from the tightness of the old rents on the one hand, and the approach of the revision of assessments in Oudh, there is a genuine absence of movement in rents.

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In short, time enough has not gone by yet since the passing of the new Rent Act to judge correctly as to its practical effect amongst such a diversified population as that of Oudh.

Report on the Progress and Condition of the Government Botanical Gardens at Saharanpur and Mussooree, for the year ended 31st March 1889.

GARDEN Reports, as a rule, have always an indictment against the weather. This one is no exception. Nevertheless it is satisfactory to be able to add, that during his four years incumbency of office Mr. Gollan his largely reduced expenditure; and if to last year's cash receipts there be added Rs. 2,732-9-0,—the cost of seeds and plants distributed to soldiers gardens, and a further sum of Rs. 2,239-14-0 representing the actual saving to Government through utilization of drugs grown in the gardens,—there is a paper deficit converted into an actual surplus. Potato disease has attacked the Gardens rather extensively, but the disease is attributed by the Director of Agriculture, N.-W. Provinces to the tendency of the Indian agriculturist to use over and over again seed grown on the same plot of land. We notice a new fruit introduced—the American Dewberry, described as "delicious, better than the best blackberry, and as large or larger;" moreover, it is easily grown, and eminently suited to to Indian climatic conditions: "When more generally known it is sure to become popular."

Here is an interesting extract:—

Rye (*Triticum vulgare*)—A parcel of seeds of this cerial was received from the Superintendent, Government Gunpowder Factory, Ishapore, and were sown at his request in order to ascertain whether the North-Western Provinces and Punjab are capable of producing rye straw for the manufacture of a certain class of gunpowder.

The seeds thus obtained were sown at the same time and were given the same treatment as given to wheat. They did not germinate well, but those which came up produced a crop of straw averaging about two and a half feet in length. The experiment was thus sufficiently successful to establish the fact that rye straw could be produced in this part of India if necessary. The plants also gave a crop of well developed grain, and I anticipate even better results in another season from this partly acclimatized stock, should the Superintendent of the Gunpowder Factory wish me to continue the experiment.

White ants are developing a pernicious fancy for eucalyptus citriodora and meliodora, and are likely to impair their usefulness.

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Annual Report of Dispensaries in the Punjab, for the year 1888.

IT is noteworthy that last year the Lady Aitcheson Hospital for women was opened at Lahore:—

The question of the provision of a hospital for Europeans at this place has recently been under the consideration of Government. His Honour fully agrees as to the necessity of such an institution, and is prepared to make a grant for the purpose, but the larger share of the required funds must be provided by public subscription. The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals notices an urgent want of suitable hospital buildings at Delhi and other places. The provision of new buildings, as above remarked, is a suitable charge on invested funds. In fact, Rule XVIII of the Hospital and Dispensary Rules, does not authorise the sale of such investments except in the event of money being required for new buildings or for extensive repairs to existing buildings.

The number of lepers on the rolls of the six Punjab Asylums was 574, being 23 more than in the previous year. And "none are reported to have derived much benefit from the treatment afforded them."

Dr. Perry, Professor of Surgery, Mayo Hospital, writes in his Report:—As was pointed out in last year's report, the practice and teaching of surgery is seriously hampered by the altogether inadequate provision made for the supply of instruments and apparatus.

Administration Report of the Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal for the year 1888-89.

THE Orissa coast having been found by experience to be the Bay of Bengal focus on which a large portion of South-West monsoon storms strike, Mr. Pedler, the officiating Meteorological Reporter thinks "it would be extremely desirable in the interests of the Storm Signal Service that the telegraphic communication over that area should be as perfect as possible" as it frequently happens that on the occasion of bad weather, or of a cyclone approaching the Orissa coast, the communication is suspended several hours before the storm approaches the land. This at once makes it difficult to determine the line of march and the position of a storm with any degree of certainty. Even during the months of April and May, when strong southerly winds blow in the north-west angle of the Bay, it is found sometimes to be impossible to send in the daily meteorological telegrams with certainty and regularity, and thus, in the first thirteen days in May 1889, on not a single day did the False Point telegram reach this office in time to be incorporated in the Daily Weather Report, and thus, for all practical purposes of rapid or early forecasting, these observations were useless.

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Annual Returns of the Charitable Dispensaries under the Govment of Bengal for the year 1888.

FROM Dr. Hilson's Report on the Charitable Dispensaries of Bengal we gather that on 31st December 1888, there were 250 Dispensaries in the Province, as against 243 in the preceding year; that there has been a steady increase in the number of patients treated, and that more surgical work was done in 1888 than in 1887.

Subscriptions, however, both from Europeans and natives, show a considerable decrease; and expenditure under all heads "increased very much."

Returns of the Rail-borne Trade of Bengal for the quarter ending the 31*st March* 1889.

FROM the Secretariat *Returns of the Rail-borne Trade of Bengal* for the first quarter of the year, we gather that the result of the transactions for the quarter ending the 31st March 1889, in comparison with the figures of the corresponding period last year, is a decrease of 27·11 per cent. in the total traffic lifted. "Railway plant and rolling stock" formed one of the items of trade in 1887-88, but under the orders of the Government of India, it has been omitted in the returns from the 1st April 1888. If the trade under that head, amounting to 10,40,446 maunds, be deducted from the returns for the quarter ending the 31st March 1888, the net traffic of the present quarter will be below the figures of the fourth quarter of 1887-88 by only 15·88 per cent., of which 11·01 per cent. will be under imports, and 18·53 per cent. under exports.

The chief falling off in the import trade occurred under oilseeds, while the exports decreased owing to the absence of demand for food-grains in the Upper Provinces, where there was a scarcity in 1887-88.

Twenty-First Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for the year 1888.

THE Report of the Sanitary Commissioner Bengal, for 1888 is submitted by Dr. Gregg. Sir Steuart Bayley thinks that the registration both of births and deaths is still so extremely defective that no trustworthy conclusions can be drawn from it, either with regard to the general health of the Province, or the healthiness of the year under report, as compared with that of previous years.

Mortality among infants under one year old is supposed to have been higher than usual, mortality from cholera in Orissa

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higher than in any other part of the satrapy. On the other hand Orissa shows a lower death-rate from fever than other parts of Bengal. The fluctuations in the death-rate of the different cantonments are striking. In Dorunda the rate was as high as 59·27, while in Dum-Dum, a more populous cantonment situated in a less healthy locality, it only reached 11·60. In Alipore it fell from 44·32 in 1887 to 28·73 in 1888, while in Buxa it rose from 9·64 to 20·37. In two of these cantonments the mortality registered is as low as in many of the municipalities, yet in cantonments, such as Fort William and Dum-Dum, it is to be supposed that registration will be tolerably accurate.

The prevalence of cholera during every month of the year for the last fifteen years, its seasonal incidence in the four main divisions of the Province, and its comparative prevalence in each district in Bengal during 1888, have been illustrated by the Sanitary Commissioner in a series of diagrams which have been prepared with great care and are very interesting. Dr. Gregg remarks:—

"The inferences to be drawn from this (the first) diagram are (1) that the year 1888 compares favourably with nine out of the fourteen years with which it is compared; (2) that as a rule the Province is comparatively free from cholera during the earlier months of the year, and that when in some years it does prevail in January and February, it is a continuation of the disease which was developed in intensity at the end of the preceding year; (3) that the desease prevails with much severity in the hot weather before the rains set in; (4) that there is a comparative lull during the rains; and (5) that it appears again in the cold weather, but not to the same extent as in the hot weather."

The connection between the variations in the seasonal incidence of the disease in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpore, and the character and elevation of the soil in different localities, and consequent change in the height of the sub-soil water, are clearly demonstrated by these diagrams.

It is worthy of remark that not a single death from small-pox is reported to have occurred in the district of Bogra during the year, and that the floating population of Calcutta continued to enjoy immunity from the disease. The following extract from Sir Steuart Bayley's Resolution is pregnant with meanings:—

The great prevalence of this disease during the three last months of the year is undoubtedly caused by the saturation of the soil with water after the rains, and it is to be feared that the natural difficulties of draining the country have, in many cases, been increased, as the Sanitary Commissioner points out, by roads and embankments insufficiently provided with culverts. The waterway allowed in railway and road embankments is calculated by Engineers with reference rather to the stability of the work than to the sanitary requirements of the locality. But it is not merely the work of man that has to be grappled with. The action of nature tends constantly, in a flat country like Bengal, to silt up the khals and so waterlog the country drained by them. Under the guidance of such a Sanitary Board as the Government of India have proposed, a beginning might be made

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towards remedying these evils; but it is to be feared that the time to which Dr. Gregg looks forward, when the country will be thoroughly and systemacally drained, is still far distant.

Annual Report on the Foreign Trade of the N.-W. P. and Oudh, for the year ending 31st March 1889.

THIS Report is submitted by Mr. T. W. Holderness, C. S., Director of Land Records and Agriculture, N. W. P. and Oudh, who states that the cordon of posts maintained for registration of traffic remained unaltered; that the posts on the Nepal frontier were all inspected; that one of the five posts on the Tibet frontier was visited by the Senior Assistant Commissioner, Kamaun, and that the registration work was generally found satisfactory.

It cost the State altogether Rs. 5,172 against Rs. 4,455 in the previous year. The increase was partly due to revision of establishment. The traffic with Nepal shows considerable decrease during the year, while that with Tibet showed a comparatively large increase. The decrease in the import from Nepal occurred mostly under grain and firewood. For several months traders in Nepal were, it is said, prohibited by the Nepal Darbar from taking these articles across the frontier, as it was thought necessary to maintain local stocks for the sake of providing supplies for the camp of high Nepalese officials on tour. The decrease in the export trade was principally under cotton piece-goods, metals and salt.

The increase in the import of salt is adjudged due to the enhancement in excise duty levied in the plains, which has somewhat increased the area within which Tibetan salt can compete with Indian.

The increase in the export of grain from India to Tibet was consequential on the increased import of salt, as it is given in payment for the latter.

The Second Annual Report of the Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium, Darjeeling, for 1888-89.

THE Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium flourishes *more suo*. It will be remembered that Rajah Govind Lal Roy of Rungpore having placed 90,000 Rupees at Mr. Lowis' disposal, to be spent on some work of public utility, Mr Lowis devoted it to the establishment of a Hill Sanitarium for natives of India. We are told in a Report on this Institution lately issued, that during 1887-88 the opinions of medical men, printed in pamphlet form, were largely distributed in the Province, and in November of the same year, a circular inviting subscriptions was issued to about five hundred Zemindars and other principal men of the

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country. In response to this circular Rai Dhanput Sing Bahadoor subscribed Rs. 5,000, and another item of Rs. 25 only was received, and no more.

Independent natives of India having thus testified to their want of appreciation of the Sanitarium, in spite of "circulars, pamphlets, leaflets, cards letters, &c. &c., numbering about 30,000 at about a cost of Rs. 1,200" having been circulated broadcast, the Board of Revenue was appealed to, and sanctioned levies from minor's estates under the Court of Wards guardianship, as follows—

Burdwan	Estate	Rs.	1,000	annually.
Dighaputtea	,,	Rs.	1,000	do.
Tikari	,,	Rs.	1,000	do.
Cossimbazar	,,	Rs.	500	do.
Nurhan	,,	Rs.	500	do.
Chanchal	,,	Rs.	200	do.

The actual member of admissions during the year was 199 and the daily average of inmates 12·3.

Report on the Calcutta Medical Institutions for the year 1888.

THIS is a concise but full Report on the Calcutta Medical Institutions for the year 1888.

Of the number of persons treated in the Calcutta and Surburban Hospitials we read that—

The total number of patients treated in all the hospitals during the year, exclusive of the voluntary lock-hospitals (which have now been excluded from the list of medical institutions embraced in this report), was 253,706 against 261,177 in 1887, the difference being 7,471. As regards in-door patients, the numbers treated show little variation at all the institutions when compared with those of the previous year, but there has been a considerable diminution of out-door patients at the Medical College Hospital and Mayo Institutions, and more particularly at the latter. There has also been a decrease at the Howrah Hospital.

The annual returns of the Chandney Hospital—where nearly one-third of all the out-patients of Calcutta are supposed to be treated—have been pronounced inaccurate. and hence "vitiated" as Sir Steuart Bayley's Resolution mildly puts it. We are glad however to observe, that a much larger number of Europeans availed themselves of Hospital treatment in the year under review than in 1887, though fewer Hindoo and Mahomedan women and children applied for treatment; a result probably due to the successful working and growing popularity of the Lady Dufferin Hospital. There was, as usual, a very high death-rate among those treated in the Campbell and Howrah Hospitals, "into which many moribund patients are admitted." Calcutta, we are told, continues to be practically free from small-pox. Nevertheless, special small-pox wards have been constructed at the Campbell Hospital. Dysentery

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decreased somewhat, both in prevalence and mortality; and under the head *Malarial Fevers*, the figures also show a decrease. Of *Venereal diseases*, we read—

The return shows a large diminution of these affections, owing partly to the exclusion from it of the cases treated in the voluntary lock-hospitals. The figures, however, refer only to in-door cases treated in the hospitals; but if out-door patients are taken into account, as well as all those treated in the voluntary lock hospitals, it will be found that there has been a general diminution of venereal affections in 1888 as compared with 1887, the total figures for the two years being 13,038 and 14,618 respectively.

The number of important surgical operations performed rose from 1,488 in 1887 to 1,719, and were attended with a fair measure of success; especially among those affected with diseases of the eyes. At the Eden Hospital for women much good work was done. The Ezra Hospital has proved a blessing indeed to the sick poor of the Jewish religion.

The Officers attached to the various hospitals continue to write in high terms of the services of the nursing staff. Of sister Lucy, the late Superintendent of the Clewer Sisterhood, who for the last eight years served the sick and stricken in the Calcutta hospitals, Dr. Hilson writes:—"Her self-denying devotion to duty, and her kindness and attention to the sick, will long be held in affectionate remembrance."

Report of the Court of Wards, N.-W. Provinces, for the Revenue year 1887-88.

WE have no Sir Bernard Burke in India to tell of the vicissitudes of its aristocratic families; but the condensed story of one of them, as set forth in this Court of Wards Report, might serve in broad outline for the story of at least three quarters of them. Here it is:—

Pankigangaganj Estate, Cawnpore District.—This estate, comprising a half share in a village, was the property of Rajah Dhiraj Singh, the representative of a branch of the Sheorajpur Chandels in the Cawnpore district. At the time when the district came under the British rule the estate held some 42 villages; but all these, except half the village of Pankigangaganj, were gradually alienated either by auction or private sale to meet the Rája's liabilities. The share in the remaining village left to Rája Dhiraj Singh was about to be sold in execution of a decree for debts incurred by his predecessors, when the Government came to his aid, and in January 1874, sanctioned a State loan of Rs. 9,500 at 5 per cent. interest, repayable within 20 years, on condition that the property should be mortgaged to Government as security for repayment. Subsequently the estate was brought under the management of the Court of Wards, and the Rája was declared disqualified under clause (*g*), section 194, Act XIX of 1873, by G. O. No. 122 of 25th January, 1877. The income of the property for 1886-87 was Rs. 4,026, and the Government demand for land revenue and cesses Rs. 1,568. As the State loan was paid in full during the year,

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the sanction of Government was solicited to the removal of the disqualification passed upon the Rája, and the estate was under G. O. No. $\frac{1343}{I-436A.}$, dated 14th September 1888, released from management on 30th September 1888.

A table of estates administered by the Court of Wards for females, minors, idiots, lunatics, and others, is given, and shows a total of 136. But it appears that the *actual* number of estates under management is 115. There was a decrease in expenditure on "works of improvement," as compared with 1886-87, and the educational charges of the year amounted to Rs. 18,878. Two minor wards were sent during the year to be educated at the Wards' Institute, Agra, which, with three others sent previously, made a total of five. It is a pity that the official mind has not much time to spare for thought about a fitting education for the aristocratic classes: a mistake which time will surely avenge some day or another. "The mills of God grind slowly," as Longfellow puts it; but they are grinding eternally.

From a financial point of view, the Court of Wards management for the year was, as may be assumed, satisfactory.

Annual Report of the Lunatic Asylums of Bengal for the year 1888.

IN submitting this report, Dr. Hilson, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Bengal, deprecates its brevity, in that having only taken charge of his office on the 30th April, he has not had time to look carefully into the returns that accompany the Report. This may, in some measure, account why, in a tabular statement giving the Causes of Insanity in the European Asylum at Bhowanipore, he enumerates separately—

Intemperance.
Excessive drinking.
Drinking, and
Ardent spirits.

"Although," he says, "the patients suffering from the different types of insanity are now arranged according to the system adopted by the Royal College of Physicians in the new nomenclature of diseases, the change does not appear to have produced as much uniformity in the returns as might be desired, and it is probable that, until some authoritative definition is obtained of the various forms of mental disease, not much progress in this direction will be made."

We are told that at Patna, Berhampore, Dacca, Dullunda and Cuttack there was overcrowding on account of insufficient accommodation, and some male patients slept in verandahs, and yet enjoyed very good health. But Dr. Hilson objects to sleeping

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in verandahs, and suggests that quiet and inoffensive lunatics should not be sent to Asylums "unless there is some very good reason for doing so." We regret to note, however, that the returns for the last ten years show that the criminal class of lunatics is annually becoming larger; "and it remains to be seen whether the new system of discharging them after recovery, which was recommended by a special Committee last year, and approved of by Government, will have the effect of reducing it." Opinions differ perhaps as to the meaning of the word recovery. Nevertheless we are glad to learn that sickness diminished generally in the asylums—as it did outside them :—

The fluctuation in the health of the asylums correspond in a great measure with those of the jail and general population in the same districts, the only marked exception being found at Cuttack, where there was increased sickness in the jail with an improvement in the health of the lunatics.

Fever, as usual, was the cause of most of the sickness at nearly all the asylums. Only at Dullunda was there any cholera, six cases, two of which proved fatal having occurred in November. No cause could be assigned for the outbreak, which was preceded a short time previously by the appearance of the disease in the Station Hospital adjoining the asylum.

The mortuary statistics shew that there were 74 deaths in all the asylums; or at the rate of 7·93 per cent. Last year it was 9·11 per cent. Injuries, accidents, escapes, &c., are still somewhat numerous, and with a view to their diminution, Dr. Hilson has directed that they should all be reported at his office immediately after their occurrence, so that an opinion can be formed as to the completeness of the investigation into each case.

The total cost of maintaining the five native asylums of Bengal was Rs. 81.172-2-3. In 1887 it was Rs. 78,996-1-4. The profits derived from the manufacturing department amounted to Rs. 4,474-3-4, of which the Patna Asylum contributed Rs. 2,324-1-1, Dacca Rs. 1,013-7-4, Berhampore Rs. 653-6-6, Cuttack Rs. 255-8-1 and Dullunda Rs. 227-12-4. This shows an increase at Patna and Dacca, while there has been a falling off at the other asylums. At Dullunda the very small profit obtained, when compared with that of former years, is attributable to the erection of a new workshed at a cost of Rs. 640-9, and also to depreciation in the value of cocoanut oil, in the manufacture of which many of the lunatics were employed.

Annual Report of the Royal Botanic Garden for the year 1888-89.

THE hundred and second Annual Report of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta, now lies before us. Dr. King holds that the chief improvement effected within the garden last year was the extension and completion of the Palm House:

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which, when the plants now being put out in it have had time to establish themselves, the effect inside will be very fine; though externally, no house with such a large area of thatched roof can possibly look well. To screen this unsightliness as much as possible from observation, trees are being planted in the neighbourhood.

The Garden Herbarium has received considerable accessions to its collection of dried plants since the Superintendent's last Report was written. Contributions have been received from Sikkim, from Upper Burmah, from the Shan Hills, from the Naga Hills, from the forests of Canara. Frontier wars are apparently the Garden's golden opportunities. Kew has, as usual, contributed bountifully to Howrah. Not only plants and specimens, but many valuable books also for the Library. During the year, the second part of the Annals of the Garden was issued. It contains the completion of the Superintendent's monograph of the genus *Ficus*. A fresh part, treating of the Indo-Malayan species of oaks and chestnuts, is promised in a few months.

Considerable activity is reported in the nursery and seed departments, no fewer than 31,183 plants and 2,075 packets of seeds having been issued to Municipalities, Road Committees, Managers of Station Gardens, and the public at large. It is true that the figures cited fall short of those of 1887-88, but the returns for that year were swelled by the issue of a quite unprecedented number of the plant producing Rheea fibre, in the adaptability of which to manufacturing purposes some people still believe.

Twenty-first Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st December 1888.

BY way of commentary on the uses and values of Indian statistics, we reprint paras. 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the twenty-first Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, N. W. P. and Oudh:—

It will be seen that the recorded number of births for 1888 is less than the number for the preceding year, by 21,296.

The ratio of births per thousand of population was 38·25 as compared with 38·74 for 1887. In other words, the births-rate for the two years was nearly the same.

The foregoing birth-rate is calculated on the census figures of 1881. If the *natural increase* of the population, or the number by which the births have exceeded the deaths since 1881, amounting to 2,536,636, is added to the census numbers of 1881, and the birth-rate calculated upon the resulting total, the ratio for 1888 would be 36·13 and not 38·25.

Although a circular was issued last year by the Government to all district officers, with the object of securing greater attention to the record of vital statistics, little improvement has followed. The same neglect to

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record births and deaths, but especially the former, continues to be observed wherever registration is made the subject of inquiry. It is safe to assume that the actual birth-rate in these provinces is as much over 40 per thousand as the recorded statistics make it to be under 40 per thousand of population.

Here is the opening sentence of para 17. "The insanitary condition of the villages of the provinces has frequently been described: it could hardly be worse than it is; yet the recorded statistics show that their inhabitants are greatly healthier than the inhabitants of town." As to the causes of death in 1888 there was a decrease under the departmental headings *Cholera*, *Fever*, *Bowel complaints;* and an increase under the headings *Small-pox*, *Injuries* and *all other causes*. In view of cholera as a "preventable disease," credit is claimed for the fact that, owing to sanitary precautions, there has been no outbreak of cholera at any of the great fairs held in the N. W. P. and Oudh, during the past three seasons.

Report on the Horticultural Gardens, Lucknow, for the year ending 31st March 1889.

THE incidence of the seasons has borne hardly on Horticultural Gardens at Lucknow. Extreme heat in May and June 1888, proved fatal to fruit trees: untimely rains in February and March 1889, no less fatal to experimental wheat crops. Experiments made in the culture of grasses for hay and fodder "were not encouraging." But flower culture prospered, and the sale of ornamental trees and plants was greater than in any previous year. Experience has shown that both soil and climate at Lucknow are unsuited to the Mandarin orange, and trees of that graft are to be replaced by local *kewla*. Fifty-seven alùbukhara trees have been planted on the site of an old, friutless, uncongenial vinery. From seeds sent by Mr. Reasoner of the Royal Palm Nurseries, Manatee, Florida, plants of the following fruit trees have been raised:—

Prunus chickasa (Chickasaw plum),
Flacourtia sepiaria.
Diospyros virginiana.
Psidium Chinensis (described as a hardy yellow guava).

We are glad to find that improvement of the principal country vegetables by selection is being steadily persevered with. Although in some, little or no improvement is apparent, yet in others better form and size are shown. Hill potatoes for seed, although appreciated by native growers, are too expensive, as they cost 3 Rs. per maund at the nursery, and from Rs. 1-13-0 to 2 Rs. per maund for carriage to Lucknow. Fairly good crops of two kinds of dwarf French beans were secured by

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sowing early in September. When sown in October, plants are usually killed by cold before bearing. The kinds grown were Sutton's miniature Haricot and Canadian Wonder. The following information about fodder grasses will be acceptable to many. For the last three years small plots of the following indigenous fodder grasses have been grown :—

Local name.			*Botanical name.*
Buxa	...	...	Apluda aristata.
Janawa	...	...	Andropogan Bladhii.
Karmakra	...	...	Eleusine ægyptica.
Goolgooly	...	...	Eragrostis plumosa.
Seoree	...	...	Panicum sanguinale.
Gamoyah	...	...	Panicum antidotale.

All but the last named were grown from seed sown in the beginning of the rains. The chief result of their cultivation has been to show that they are, with the exceptions of Buxa and Gamoyah, too short in length to make it worth while growing them alone for either hay or pasture, but they might with advantage be mixed with the latter grasses for both purposes.

Gamoyah is a strong rather coarse grass, growing mostly in dry banks and slopes where cultivation is not in force, and conspicuous by its green succulent growth in the dryest and hottest months of the year ; though not much appreciated by cattle in its wild state, it was thought that, under cultivation and by cutting it when tender, it might prove useful by yielding a supply of green fodder, with little or no irrigation at a season when green grass is hardly obtainable. During a two years trial the results, however, have been so poor, that it must be pronounced a failure under cultivation, both with or without irrigation or level ground.

Finochio was grown for the first time. Sowings on a small scale were made of two varieties, large and small. Both grew well ; and it is opined could easily be produced in India in the cold weather, if sown in September or October.

More than usual success was had with two kinds of English vegetable marrow, *viz.*, Sutton's Vegetable Marrow and "Marrow Green Bush." They were grown in trenches in a sheltered spot, the chief point in their cultivation seems to be not to overwater. In this instance none was given till necessary.

As to flower culture we are told that there is nothing calling for special notice in flower culture this year. The standard and other choice flowering annuals were grown in considerable quantity for seed, for which there continues to be a good demand. New species and improved varieties of old kinds are yearly imported and tried. Some excellent petunias, both of the improved double and single strains, were successfully grown, and attracted much attention. The new strain of pansy, known as Giant or Trimerdeau, has also been most successfully grown for the last three years, but as yet it has failed to yield perfect seed.

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Here is mention of an interesting experiment :—

By cutting over nearly all the plants large enough to be cut, sufficient bark (16 maunds) of the paper-mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) was obtained to admit of an experiment being made with it in the Lucknow Paper Mills. A copy of the Manager's report on the experiment has already been sent in, so that it is not necessary to enter into the details of it here, further than to quote his opinion as to its suitability for paper-making. He states :—

"There is no question as to its being a most suitable fibre for paper-making and that of the very finest classes, with a portion of about half paper-mulberry and half múnj (Saccharum Sara) or Bhábar grass (Pallionia eriopoda)."

The important question of cost of production, however, has to be considered ; and this, I fear, bars it from becoming available as a paper-making material grown on the plains.

Our experiment in its present circumstances has little chance of affording conclusive evidence on this point, as owing to poor soil, want of sufficient water and manure, the full growth of which the plant is capable cannot be ascertained.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

General Literature.

Life of the Marquess Wellesley, K. G. By Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1889.

COLONEL MALLESON'S name is a guarantee for painstaking historical accuracy, and picturesque delineation of facts. The story of the Marquess Wellesley's career could not have been entrusted to hands more congenial. It is a story showing that the hero of it did with all the might that in him lay all that he could do to make history, and succeeded in creating for himself an environment of events susceptible of picturesque treatment by the historian. It is claimed for him that he was born great, and that he achieved greatness in himself and for himself. The first claim is not to our thinking as well established as the last. The Somersetshire Wesleys appear to have been from generation to generation small country squires, too bucolic to be either clever, powerful or rich. A family respectable enough, but contented with Quarter Sessions fame and parochial ambitions. It had not inherent vitality enough to keep alive, and came virtually to an end in 1745, in which year Garret Wesley dying, without issue, made Richard Cowley, a cousin once removed, his heir. The Cowleys had emigrated from Staffordshire to Ireland in the reign of Henry the Eighth, had acquired an estate there, and had prospered: even Irish landlords were able to thrive three hundred years ago. Richard Cowley, on coming into his cousin's property, assumed the name of Wesley, and was rewarded for his good luck by a peerage, with style and title as Baron Mornington. His son Garrett composed music and was created Viscount Wellesley, and Earl of Mornington. He married a daughter of the first Lord Dungannon, and redeemed the family record from mediocrity by begetting the Iron Duke, and the subject of Colonel Malleson's memoir. A hero from his cradle onwards. His forward career is lovingly pictured step by step through Eton and College days,

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and so on. Colonel Malleson thinks that "in him the Natives of India, princes, traders and peasants, recognized the typical Ἀναξ'Ανδρῶν, the king of men whose word no man dared to dispute:" thinks also that by the descendants of those princes, traders, and others "throughout the vast peninsula of which he made a British dependency, his name is still remembered and reverenced." Our faith in Indian loyalty to sentiment, or even in Indian faculty for memory is not so strong. Faith in a hero inspires perhaps a theosophic sort of belief in the magnetic attractions of his memory. In the book now before us it certainly induces loyalty to an ideal. Take for instance this extract from its author's summing up:—

But it was neither his oratory, nor his political foresight in English politics, nor his long advocacy of the claims of the Catholics, nor his just and impartial government of Ireland, which have secured for the Marquess Wellesly an eternal place amongst the great men of England; amongst the makers of the British Empire. It is for his Indian Administration that posterity will love, reverence, and honour his name. If Clive, by his expulsion of the French from southern India, and by his conquest of Bengal and Bíhar, laid the foundation of the coming Empire; if Warren Hastings, by his transactions with the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh, by the promptitude with which he despatched troops to rescue Madras from the clutches of Haidar Ali, and by the vigour with which he combated the projects of the Maráthás in western and central India, extended its borders and increased its *prestige*; it was Wellesley who welded it into one mass, who consolidated it, who gave it the imperial from which it has since retained. It was Wellesley who, finding it but the equal of each of two independent Native Powers, made it predominant and paramount. It was Wellesley who, finding Brittish *prestige* at its lowest point, raised it to its highest. He alone did it.

By the same token the Marquess's Indian acquired habit of autocracy proved at times, on another stage, inconvenient to himself and an awkwardness for his colleagues in the English Cabinet, when brought into collision with parliamentary scrutiny of the conduct of affairs. For particulars pages 175, 176 and 177 of the memoir may be consulted.

To his hero Colonel Malleson assigns all the credit of the victory over Tippoo Sultan, won by General Harris and the troops under his command. As to the Nizam and the settlement of his affairs—the Marquess, we are told, treated the Nizam much as in 1871 Prussia treated the German Princes. While guaranteeing the Indian Prince's dominions, he deprived him of all power to treat with foreign states, the best part of his sovereign power.

The story of the Maharatta wars, of Assay, Argaum, Laswari, of Lake's and Sir Arthur Wellesley's victories, of the Governor-General's plan of campaign, of Monson's retreat, Holkar's surrender, "his whole kingdom on his saddle bow," all this is well and soldierly told. And then we are told how the Mahratta wars ruined the Governor-General's reputation

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with his employers, the Directors of the East India Company; how, on news of the breaking out of hostilities, India stocks which had been at 215 fell to 160, how the Directors felt this to be a crime unpardonable, since it affected their breeches pockets, how the Governor-General's fancy for building a palace at Barrackpore was shorn of its grand proportions by their command. Finally, how, in March 1805, according to Mr. Torrens—

"Two letters were received in Calcutta by the overland route, announcing the re-appointment of Lord Cornwallis to the Governor Generalship of India. One of these letters was received by Mr. J. Alexander, the other by Mr. Tucker. Both gentlemen determined to keep their information to themselves: but a rumour was soon in circulation to the effect that overland letters had been received in Calcutta, and Lord Wellesley sent for Mr. Tucker. After some conversation, the Governor-General exclaimed: 'I hear you have received letters from England.' Mr. Tucker assented, and Lord Wellesly asked, 'Do they contain any news of importance?' 'The appointment of Lord Cornwallis,' was the reply. The accomplished actor was too much master of himself to indicate by look or gesture any opinion of the choice which had been made. But he had abundant information from confidential sources of the reasons which had led to it, and he well knew that it implied the reversal, in many essential particulars, if not the general renunciation, of his comprehensive policy."

Four pages further on Mr. Torrens is again quoted, thus:—

"Lady Wellesley and her children awaited him on landing, and several private friends pressed round him with kind welcomes. The Port Admiral was also there, and certain military officials eager to see the little man of whom they had heard so much, and of being able to say that he had shaken them by the hand, a familiarity the thought of which had never occurred to him. There was, in short, no lack of fuss and even of affection; enough to content any ordinary general or envoy returning home. But he was neither. He had been playing king until the rarefied atmosphere of kingship had become so habitual, that the murk of commonplace in the best room of the best inn in a half-lighted seaport town almost stifled him. Had the successor of Aurangzib come to this? There he was, with wife and children, and two or three friends from town, after all his impersonation of paramount power and impersonation of Oriental magnificence, made much of by vulgar waiters just like any other Irish Marquess on his travels. He did his best to look pleased and be gracious, but his mortification was unspeakable: and ere dinner time was half over he broke out in expletives of impatience that made the circle stare. Hyacinthe (his wife) forgetting all that had changed their lot in life, since the time when as a youthful and hardly known official he had sat at her feet adoringly, said, with an unlucky laugh, 'Ah! you must not think you are in India still, where everybody ran to obey you. They mind nobody here.' The disenchantment was complete. He rose early from table and withdrew saying he was ill, and must be left alone; nor could any subsequent explanation or expostulation mend the matter. It was the foretaste of a long course of disappointment and vexation, wholly unanticipated, that was in store for him."

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Lives of Indian Officers. By Sir J. W. Kaye. Vol. II. New Edition. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, 1889.

THE new edition of Kaye's *Lives of Indian Officers* bears witness to the popularity of the work, the second volume of which contains biographies of Sir Alexander Burnes, Conolly, Pottinger, D'Arcy Todd, Henry Lawrence, Neill and Nicholson. For Englishmen the story of these men's lives will never lack interest. Everyone knows how well Sir John Kaye can tell it. The concluding sentences of his second volume of Lives would, it seems to us, serve fittingly as a preface to it, as it reveals the main secret of the author's literary successes. We quote them :—

Believing that the best biographies are those in which the autobiographical element is the most prominent, I have endeavoured in all these sketches, to make the men of whom I have written tell, as fully as possible, the stories of their own lives; and I have ever sought the aid of those survivors who have known them best. And I believe that, by so doing, I have imparted an amount of vitality to my narratives which, had I trusted more to my own words, would have been absent from them.

In reviewing to-day this new edition of the Lives, we do not propose to re-travel over trunk roads already familiar: it would seem to be more profitable to stroll in byeways and note possibly unconsidered wayside incidents. "What's in a name?" Sir Alexander Burnes at any rate thought that in his there was serviceability for the work he was appointed to do. Often, especially in the early part of his career as a "political," was it helpful to him to be known as Sekunder Burnes in Afghanistan, and the wild adjacent countries where memory of Alexander of Macedon has lived through all the centuries and buried Babylons that since his time have scrambled towards the world's fulfilment, and the to-day's eighth wonder of the world—the Eiffel Tower. Here is a jotting from a diary, common place and platitudinarian enough for a lady's album, but which nevertheless a good many bookworms might do worse than mark and digest :—

Ever since I ordered my servants to address me in Hindostanee, I find my improvement very great, and I am persuaded that there is no method more effectual in acquiring the language than the one I am at present pursuing, for it unites the theoretical and the practical.

When, in 1832, Burnes went on his first Mission to Cabul, accompanied by Dr. Gerard, a naturalist, and by a native surveyor and his stock in trade, no suspicions were aroused even in innately suspicious Afghan breasts :—

There were at that time no jealousies, no resentments, between the two nations. The little knowledge that they had of us, derived from the fast-fading recollections of Mr. Elphinstone's mission, was all in our favour;

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and we in our turn believed them to be a cheerful, simple-minded, kind-hearted, hospitable people. Along the whole line of country, from Peshawur to Cabul, which cannot now be even named amongst us without a shudder, the English travellers were welcomed as friends.

While on his travels, Burnes, although an accomplished linguist, and habited as an Asiatic, never concealed the fact that he was a European. Being "political" however, it was not to be expected that he should be entirely without guile; and so we read :—

When they ask me if I eat pork, I of course shudder, and say that it is only outcasts who commit such outrages. God forgive me! for I am very fond of bacon, and my mouth waters as I write the word.

Here is a teaching of experience which the English Foreign Office has yet to learn seemingly :—

After the Punic faith which Russia has exhibited, I confess I was astonished to see Lord Clanricarde put trust in what Count Nesselrode told him of the strength of the Russian force, and you may rely upon it we are better judges of what Russia is doing in Turkistan than our ambassador at St. Petersburg.

To page 77 is appended this note—interesting in more ways than one :—

When men—especially men of active habits—have very little to do, they are frequently disturbed by small troubles, which, at times of greater activity, would pass unnoticed. At this period Burnes was greatly irritated by some comments on Affghan affairs in the Calcutta and Agra papers. With reference to a letter in the Agra *Ukhbar*, which had reflected on some of the proceedings of Dr. Lord, Burnes wrote to his friend, saying : 'I think that a simple letter under your name calling the man a cowardly slanderer and a villain, or some such choice word, would be a good mode of rebutting him.' As if truth were to be established by calling men hard names! In another letter Burnes wrote to Lord : 'You have a viper in your Artillery named Kaye, who writes in the *Hurkaru*,' &c. &c. The viper referred to is the writer of this book. I had, as a young man, perhaps a little too fond of my pen, emphatically protested against our entire policy in Afghanistan, and predicted its speedy collapse—which prediction, in the first flush of success, my countrymen in India, with few exceptions, were wont to deride.

Burnes wrote to his brother from Cabul in November 1840 :—

You regret about my name and the Russians. Nine-tenths of what is attributed to me I never said, but I did say the Russians were coming, and that, too, on 31st of October 1839, and come they did; and Lord Auckland would never believe it till March 1840! He heard from London and from Khiva of the failure simultaneously, and they wonder why we did not hear sooner. We have no mail coaches here, and hence the explanation.

He dealt largely in correspondence and diaries. Moralizing in one of the latter over a life of Sir Sydney Smith that he had been reading, he declared that he found in it support for his belief, that all great men are characterized by more or less "charlatanerie." Be that as it may, Sir John Kaye holds that

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the cardinal motive power with Burnes was—enthusiasm; which may, in some measure, account for his disagreements and difficulties with Lord Auckland and the Indian Foreign Office. But it is hard to drive enthusiasm and diplomacy in a pair. Machiavelli is, perhaps, the only example we can think of.

In enthusiasm, however, Arthur Conolly assuredly did not lag behind the canny Scotchman whose memoir precedes his in Sir John Kaye's scroll of fame; but the quality of it, in the two men, was widely differentiated by temperament and circumstance. Conolly's life story is a tragic one; a very sad one, but to some men there are no joys that can equal those of self-sacrifice, of unsought self-martyrdom. Of such was Arthur Conolly. Such a man born in other times would have been a Knight Templar, and would have found comfort in being one of the most chivalrous and daring of the brotherhood. As it was, an overwhelming sorrow, that would have broken a weaker man's heart, served to chasten and purify his, and to spur him on to valiant deeds. It was not permitted to him in his young, bright manhood to marry the woman he loved with all the intensity of his loving nature, and by whom he was beloved; but he went through life without repining and without a murmur. "Thenceforth humanity became his bride, and airy hopes his children." His waking dreams were of a latter day crusade against Central Asian slave-hunters and slave markets, in which some Europeans, as well as tens of thousands of Asiatics were bought and sold, beaten and evil entreated. For their deliverance Arthur Conolly worked and schemed. He welcomed the command of a diplomatic Mission to Khokand and Khiva as an indirect means to this end. In September 1840, after many disappointments and official haltings between two opinions, it was allowed to start from Cabul, charged with diplomatic instructions to counteract the growing influence of Russia in Central Asia, and to promote friendly relations with the British Government wherever it went. The tragic end of its endeavours is matter of history. It was settled that an Afghan envoy should accompany Conolly: but there was considerable difficulty about the selection of the envoy. "One candidate for the office was said to be a dreadfully modest man, who had never been heard of out of the Shah's chambers, and his Majesty confessed that he was chiefly meritorious as a candle-snuffer." A fortnight after the Mission had started Conolly wrote in his journal: "The articles which the Hazarehs and Imauk take to market are *men and women*, small black oxen, cows, sheep, &c." At Maimunah he found that slaves were market representatives of value, the current coin of the neighbourhood. The Cabul envoy with Conolly

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found his official anti-slavery professions overbalanced by his slave-dealing intuitions, and did a little quiet trade in human flesh and blood on the road. *Apropos* of intuitions, here is an extract from page 156 of the memoir :—

> But what shall we say for Russia's return to the barbarism out of which she has been striving in so may ways to grow? Unless Count Nesselrode abandons the point of the treaty, he will be compared to the cannibal woman of New Holland, who, after having been restrained from the evil propensity of her girlish days, and made to educate a whole colony of white children with the utmost tenderness, fell sick beyond physician's healing, and was told that she might eat any thing she took a fancy to, when she with dying accents expressed a longing for the arm of a young baby.

We get occasional glimpses of Wolff, the christianized Jew Missionary, who was "both untidy and uncleanly, but not unwilling to be reformed." Sir John Kaye is not singular in his opinion that "diplomacy and philanthropy are too often divorced." By way of commenting on the failure of one of Arthur Conolly's schemes, he writes :—"But the ardent philanthropist was only a regimental subaltern."

Here is an anecdote about Major Eldred Pottinger, the hero of the defence of Herat against a Persian army in 1837-38 : the scene, Lord Auckland's camp :—

> He was, of course, invited to join the Government circle at dinner ; but nothing was known of his arrival until the guests were assembling in the great dinner-tent. Then it was observed that a 'native,' in the Afghan costume, was leaning against one of the poles of the tent ; obviously a shy, reserved man. with somewhat of a downcast look ; and the Government-House Staff looked askance at him, whispered to each other, wondered what intruder he was, and suggested to each other that it would be well for some one to bid him to depart. But the 'some one' was not found ; and presently the Governor-General entered, and leading his sister, Miss Eden, up to the stranger, said, 'Let me present you to the hero of Herat.' And then, of course, there was a great commotion in the tent, and in spite of etiquette, the assembly burst into something like a cheer.

On the "Lives" of Sir Henry Lawrence, General Neill, and General John Nicholson we make no comment. The record of their fame is well within the memory of the present generation.

Notes on Grant's Xenophon. By Geo. Maddox, B.A., Professor of Logic and History, Doveton College, Madras. Irish Press, No. 163, Popham's Broadway.

THIS little publication ought to be in the hands of every student who has to read "Grant's Xenophon" for the First Examination in Arts of the Calcutta University. The notes given are just such as an Indian student requires. All allusions are explained fully, and every textual difficulty most carefully elucidated. Professor Maddox does not have recourse

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to the superficial method of annotating adopted, all but universally, by so-called Professors of the English Language in Native Colleges—we mean the habit of giving merely the *meanings of words*, and quietly passing over the *explanation of phrases*, the purport of which a student frequently finds he is unable to grasp. To illustrate this, let the reader turn to page 40, and read the note on the phrase, "*Gothic Sentimentalism*." He will notice that each word is first explained, and next the signification of the whole phrase given in the clearest language. Or, let the reader turn again to page 86, and read the note on "*Utopian excellence*," and he will see how the meaning of this, too, is brought out.

The reader's attention is also drawn to some of the grammatical peculiarities of the English Language, *e. g.*, a capital note on the termination "*ing*" on pp 54-55. In some instances, a question is asked to set the student a-thinking, and although we are aware that the utility of this method has been questioned by some, yet we are of opinion that much good might be derived from it, if used aright.

The price of the publication is a rupee only, and any student investing that amount in the purchase of these Notes, will have no cause to repent of it.

The Fauna of British India: including Ceylon and Burma. Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. Blanford. Fishes.—Vol. I. By Francis Day, C.I.E., LL.D., etc., Deputy Surgeon-General, Madras Army, (retired). London: Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.

DR. DAY'S "Fishes of India," published some ten years ago, fully established his claim to authority in his special subject, and it was a matter of course that he should be selected to treat of it in the account of the Fauna of British India now being published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India. Dr. Day did the work required, and then broke down; his health failed him; he was unable to attend to some needful compression and revision, or to correct the proofs. All that has been done by Mr. W T. Blanford. Conscientiously, we may be sure. The area dealt with in this useful contribution to our store of natural history knowledge, embraces British India as well as Ceylon, Nepal, Cashmere, Beluchistan, the Andaman Isles, etc. It is in the main an abridgment of "Fishes of India." We are glad to see a full index: a notable aid to the value of such a work as this. The illustrations, too, are well executed, and likely to prove serviceable.

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A Quarter Century of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta. Stanhope Press, Calcutta, 1889.

THIS little pamphlet gives a *resumé* of the work of the Society from 1863 to 1889. The Society, started under manifold difficulties, has successfully for a quarter of a century weathered the vicissitudes and anxieties of a period of constant changes. The Mahomedans had been gradually falling away from their former glorious traditions, partly because they valued their religion more than secular instruction. In 1836 the abolition of Persian as the Court language inflicted a severe blow on their interests, which again were grievously injured by the abrogation of the Mahomedan Criminal Law and the promulgation of the Indian Penal Code.

In 1863, Nawab (then Maulvie) Abdul Luteef Khan Bahadur conceived the idea of arousing the Mahomedan community into literary activity and public spirit by establishing a Society, where Mahomedans might meet for intellectual enlightenment and social intercourse.

During 1863 and 1864 many meetings were held. It was the object of the founders also to promote social intercourse and interchange of thought among the different communities of Her Majesty's subjects. To carry out this object the first grand *conversazione* was held at the town hall on the 13th March 1865. The second *conversazione*, held on the 6th March 1866, was honoured by the presence of the then Viceroy, Lord Lawrence. The annual *conversaziones* and the monthly lectures on scientific and historical subjects, at a time when there was no Science Association, have given an immense impetus to general education.

The Mahomedan Literary Society has always been conspicuous for its loyalty. In 1872, when the Prince of Wales recovered from his dangerous and prolonged illness, the Society made arrangements, whereby the entire Mahomedan community of the town and suburbs of Calcutta offered up thanksgiving to the Almighty Creator for the joyful deliverance. Again, on the occasion of Her Majesty's escape from an attempt on her life in the beginning of 1882, the Society forwarded an address of loyal congratulation. The Society has always been to the front in presenting addresses of welcome to successive Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors. It has, on more than one occasion, rendered good service in calming the minds of its more ignorant and bigoted co-religionists, whenever there happened to be unusual agitation amongst them. During the Wahabee movement in 1870, the Society convened a meeting of Mahomedan gentlemen of 'light and leading,' and they conclusively showed, from references to the religious works of

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Islam, that British India was *Darul Islam*, (the country of Islam or safety), and that as such, "it would be unlawful and irreligious for the Mahomedans to preach a *Jihád* there against the Ruling Power." Five thousand copies of the proceedings were published and circulated throughout India.

We congratulate the Society on the completion of the 25th year of its existence. The good work it has done has been due principally to the wise moderation and enlightenment of its Committee of Management, and particularly of its Secretary, Nawab Abdul Luteef Khan Bahadur, C.I.E. The same wise moderation is conspicuous in the letter which was written by the Society in 1886 to the Congress Reception Committee which we reproduce here, because it is likely to become an historical document. It was in consequence of this letter that the Mahomedan community, throughout the length and breadth of India, held aloof from the Congress.

From Nawab Abdul Luteef Khan Bahadoor, C. I. E, Secretary to the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, to the Hon'ble Baboo Peary Mohun Mookerjee and J. Ghoshal, Esq., Members of the Reception Committee, dated Calcutta the 22nd December 1886.

GENTLEMEN,

The Committee of Management of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta desire me to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the invitation which you have conveyed to them, on behalf of the Reception Committee to take part in the Congress of delegates from certain towns in India, which it is proposed to hold shortly in the rooms of the British Indian Association.

2. The Members of the Committee of the Mahomedan Literary Society are fully convinced that the aim of the forthcoming Congress is to promote measures which it is considered will tend to the amelioration of the condition of the peoples of India; and they would greatly regret to do any thing which would have even the appearance of withholding from such a worthy object any support which their co-operation might give. At the same time, the Committee are not unmindful of the harm which might arise from any premature and hasty consideration of difficult and momentous questions such as it is understood will come within the purview of the deliberations of the Congress; nor do they consider that the moment is opportune for forcing any particular views upon the notice of the Government.

3. The Committee further venture to remark that since the establishment of British Rule in India, the condition of the Natives has been systematically regarded by the Government, especially during the past decade, and there are indications in every direction of a determination on their part to further promote the interests of all classes, so far as may be consistent with the requirements of the various nationalities which constitute British India, and to institute all enquiries which may be necessary for that purpose.

4. The Members of the Mahomedan Literary Society regret, therefore, that they do not feel justified, in the interests of the Natives of India and of Mahomedans in particular, in participating in any demonstration of the kind contemplated by the Reception Committee. They are the more confirmed in this opinion, seeing that, as in the past, all classes have the constitutional right of addressing Government and receiving careful attention

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from them. This has been the case with such representations as the Mahomedan Literary Society have, from time to time during nearly a quarter of a century, felt it expedient to address the Government in the interests of their co-religionists. With this knowledge guiding them in their relations with the Government, the Committee would rather adhere to this legitimate and hitherto successful mode of procedure in any future matter in which they may consider it necessary to take action, whether on their own initiation, or conjointly with other Associations.

5. The Mahomedan Literary Society, representing the orthodox Mahomedan community in India, which forms the bulk of the Mahomedan population, are not disposed to accept hastily, proposals however well meant, which have a tendency to revolutionise time-honored institutions and to bring about changes which are novel, and which they consider unsuited to the exigencies of the India of to-day, and the various and conflicting interests in it.

6. I am therefore to repeat the regret of the Members of the Committee of the Mahomedan Literary Society, that they are not able to comply with the request of the Reception Committee. They would prefer not to hamper Government in any way at a time when they are aware that the Government are devoting themselves to a careful consideration of how best to meet the natural aspirations of the Natives of India.

I have, &c,
ABDUL LUTEEF,
Secretary.

Tales from Blackwood. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London.

REPUBLICATION of *Tales from Blackwood*, printed in clear large type, on good paper, and available at the very modest price of one shilling a volume, is a happy thought on the publishers' part. They are old favourites, these *Tales*, and bear well the crucial test of re-telling. A third series bears witness to their popularity. In its pages the tastes of all sorts and conditions of readers may find gratification. Lord Wolseley contributes a "Narrative of the Red River Expedition:" somebody else an account of "A ride to Babylon." "A French Speculation" by Lady Margaret Majendie is a fresh, life-like picture of French provincial life. "Jack and Minory," a model of what a Christmas story should be, is full of quiet humour, free from mawkish sentimentalism. "Rufus Hickman of St. Botolph's" is an admirable bit of humour. The scene of "A matrimonial fraud," is laid in China, of "King Bemba's point" on the west coast of Africa, "The Puerto de Medina" in Mexico. In short the reader must be hard indeed to please who cannot find in these tales something to interest and please his pet idiosyncracies, whatever they may be.

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The Indian Church Quarterly Review. Edited by the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer, M. A. The Oxford Mission Press, Calcutta, 1889.

A kindly face, eloquent of Christian love, is that shown in the portrait prefacing the July number of the *Indian Church Quarterly Review*, and subscribed—R. Caldwell, Bishop. The article in this issue to which the generality of our readers will attach most importance probably, is from the pen of another Bishop—his Lordship of Rangoon. A very able article: "Buddhism, a philosophy of despair," as opposed to Christianity, the philosophy of hope. Followers after Shopenhauer and the fashion of pessimism, are not likely to derive much satisfaction from it. In order to a right understanding, it must be read in its entirety: and it is well worth reading, no matter if afterwards the reader agrees or disagrees. We shall not attempt here to do more than call attention to a few of its suggestive passages. Few English people are accustomed to think of the Buddhist religious system in connection with dissent; and yet, as a matter of fact, there are as many avatars, shades, blendings, differentiations of doctrine and practice in Asiatic Buddhism, as there are in Western world dissenting connections:—

The vast empire of China is said to be Buddhistic. The creed was introduced into China about the beginning of the Christian Era. Owing to its embracing and elastic liberalism and its power of amalgamation, it soon became blended with Confucianism and Tauism: so that we are told by competent authority that at this day the monks and medicants are the only true Buddhists in that Empire. In Thibet and Tartary the accretions are still more marked. The old national divinities, the spirits of the hills and streams share with the Buddha the devotion of the people. In Japan, Buddhism is modified by Shintooism and in Ceylon by demonolotry. Whilst in Siam, the native, according to Mr. Alabaster, looks to heaven and not to Nirvána as the reward of virtue. In Burma, the people worship Nats.

On page 241 we find the Bishop writing:—

In the course of Biblical criticism it is found, as we know, that mistakes have been frequently made in the process of transcription of manuscripts; and there can be little doubt that many errors, owing to intention and inattention and carelessness, must have been made in handing down the Buddha's teaching by word of mouth. Even, if we exclude what is evidently legendary, and take only that which is in accord with, and does no violence to the general principles, we may still fall into error. It by no means follows that a statement is true because it seems so. It is only by sifting evidence, and by comparing the different accounts that we can hope to arrive at, not certainty indeed, but probability.

Is not that a boomerang-fashioned argument?

Sakyámuni was gifted with much tact. As his critic puts it:—

The subject of Nirvána is confessedly difficult. The difficulty arises from the facts, that the Buddha declined to define it; and that the term is used in two distinct senses. If attention is confined to one of these two senses, and no notice taken of the other, it is impossible to reconcile what may be regarded as authoritative statements on the subject. On being questioned by one of his disciples as to the eternal continuance of the Ego, the Buddha was silent; but being pressed for an answer, he at last replied,—"If I, Ananda, had answered,' The Ego is,' that would have confirmed the doctrine of those who believe in Permanence. If I had said, 'The Ego is not,' then that, Ananda, would have confirmed the doctrine of those who believe in Annihilation."

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Persian Anthology; being selections from the Gulistân of Sa'di the Rubaiyât of Hâfiz, and the Anvâr-i-Suheili. Rendered into English verse by Alexander Rogers, late Bo. c.s. London: Bevington & Co

MR. ROGERS has been wiling away the tedium of rest after a busy life by more or less rhymed translations of Persian poetry —selected, we are told, as models of style. Alas, style cannot be translated. Mr Rogers's translations have been effected, we are told, as literally as possible. Perhaps that is why those taken from the Gulistân strike us as flat, and lacking in point. The renderings from the Rubaiyât we like better: they are at any rate less commonplace, *e.g*:—

I asked: "What is thy lip?" "Life's water 'tis," she said.
I asked. "What is thy mouth?" "A sugar jar," she said.
I said: Thus also Hâfiz says." She said:
"The joy of jesters is the pray'rs they've said."

To pound up in a mortar ev'ry earthly sphere,
Or heaven's arches nine with one's heart's blood to smear,
Or captive in a jail a hundred years to be,
Are better than a moment in fools' company.

"I twined myself among her spikenard hair,
"Help me, o'erwhelmed with grief," I made my pray'r.
"O take my life and leave my locks," she said.
"Wish not long life, nor e'er of joy despair."

Anglicized Colloquial Burmese: Or how to speak the language in three months: By Lieut. F. A. L. Davidson, Royal Scots Fusiliers. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1889.

WILLING to do a service to fellow sufferers required to acquire the Burmese language with expeditionary speed, Mr. Davidson has compiled this handy little manual. It is warranted to teach all that beginners needs must know, in three months. Better than that perhaps, "the words are Anglicized and not Romanized, and in many places the spelling is not strictly according to the Burmese, but rather, as it would be pronounced in English." Part VI, of the Manual consists of samples of Burmese manuscripts as set for examination, to which this note of warning is prefixed:—

"Manuscripts are not necessarily written and spelt correctly in examinations, but are often purposely made incorrect, in order to mystify candidates."

The National Review. July and August 1889, London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1889.

BESIDES other very readable articles, the *National Review* for July contains an amusing *jeu d'esprit*—"Dr.

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Johnson on modern poetry." The shade of the author of "Lives of the British poets" is "interviewed" in the Elysian fields, A. D. 1900, by a literarily inclined flâneur of that time, and the course of talk turns to modern poetry. A talk in which some of the conversational peculiarities of the autocrat of the Literary Club are humourously reproduced, though without any sesquipedalian strainings. Elysium is a wide domain it seems, and it took Dr. Johnson some time to discover his old cronies :—

Johnson.—Including, as you say, Mr. Boswell; though you are to understand there hath arisen betwixt Mr. Boswell and me—I would be loth to say an estrangement, but just that shade of coolness which I observe to be far from uncommon in the posthumous intercourse of authors with their biographers.

Int.—I have noticed the same thing. Carlyle and Mr. Froude . . .

The Doctor does not profess much love for "one Wordsworth of whom you may have heard." The interviewer pleading guilty to this, the interviewed proceeds to decry the pretensions of a poet who, before the society of wits and scholars, preferred that of clowns and hinds, and the savage wilds of Westmoreland, "where man is only less rude and forbidding than nature." Of Robert Browning, the Bolt Court Oracle had a higher opinion, although confessing to the terrors of his style. "Yes, Sir, Browning could read men. The pity is, men cannot read Browning." Keats, though not a scholar, is held to have had far more of the instinct of scholarship than Shelley. Tennyson is discriminated as "a master who had the art of precision in luxuriance. I could wish his thoughts were no less invariably exact than his expression." We are sorry to find the Johnson of the Elysian fields more than unappreciative of the beauties of Rossetti's poetry. And we should have liked to be favoured with his opinion about "Atalanta in Calydon," "The Earthly Paradise," Mr. Robert Buchanan's work, and those adaptations of an auction sale catalogue, seasoned with revolting animalism, which Walt Whitman is pleased to publish as poetry.

The National Review continues to maintain a deserved reputation for variety and interest. "The religion of our boys," in the August issue, is worth the attention of parents and guardians; and politicians might do worse things than study Major Elsdale's article on the "South African Problem." "London in the 17th Century" is very readable.

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DISCOVERY OF AN ASSYRIAN LIBRARY 3,500 YEARS OLD.

PROFESSOR SAYCE'S DESCRIPTION OF IT.

THE Victoria Institute of London held its annual meeting at Adelphi Terrace on July 1st. The adoption of the report for the past year was moved by Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.B.,F.R.S., and seconded by Admiral Sir Leopold McClintock, F.R.S., after which it was announced that family matters, consequent on the death of his father, prevented Professor Sayce's presence, and he had chosen the Rev. Dr. Wright, author of "The Hittites," to read the Address. It gave an historical description of what has become known in regard to the conquests of Amenophis III., as shown by the archives of his palace, which have only lately been discovered, and which the Professor went last winter to investigate on the spot before writing the Address for the Victoria Institute. Of the tablets and inscriptions, he said:—"From them we learn that in the fifteenth century before our era,—a century before the Exodus,—active literary intercourse was going on throughout the civilised world of Western Asia between Babylon and Egypt and the smaller states of Palestine, of Syria, of Mesopotamia, and even of Eastern Kappadokia. And this intercourse was carried on by means of the Babylonian language, and the complicated Babylonian script. This implies that, all over the civilised East, there were libraries and schools where the Babylonian language and literature were taught and learned. Babylonian appeared to have been as much the language of diplomacy and cultivated society as French has become in modern times, with the difference that, whereas it does not take long to learn to read French, the cuneiform syllabary required years of hard labour and attention before it could be acquired. We can now understand the meaning of the name of the Canaanitish city which stood near Hebron, and which seems to have been one of the most important of the towns of Southern Palestine. Kirjath-Sepher, or "Book-town," must have been the seat of a famous library, consisting mainly, if not altogether, as the Tel el-Amarna tablets inform us, of clay tablets inscribed with cuneiform characters. As the city also bore the name of Debir, or "Sanctuary," we may conclude that the tablets were stored in its chief temple, like the libraries of Assyria and Babylonia. It may be that they are still lying under the soil, awaiting the day when the spade of the excavator shall restore them to the light. The literary influence of Babylonia in the age before the Israelitish conquest of Palestine explains the occurrence of the names of Babylonian deities among the inhabitants

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of the West. Moses died on the summit of mount Nebo, which received its name from the Babylonian god of literature, to whom the great temple of Borsippa was dedicated; and Sinai itself, the mountain "of Sin," testifies to a worship of the Babylonian Moon-god, Sin, amid the solitudes of the desert. Moloch or Malik, was a Babylonian divinity like Rimmon, the Air-god, after whom more than one locality in Palestine was named, and Anat, the wife of Anu, the Sky-god, gave her name to the Palestinian Anab, as well as to Anathoth, the city of "the Anat-goddesses."

In a careful reading of the tablets, Canon Sayce came upon many ancient names and incidents known up to the present only from their appearance in the Bible. All these he carefully described, as well as several references in the tablets to the Hittites.

In regard to another point, he said :—

"Ever since the progress of Egyptology made it clear that Rameses II. was the Pharaoh of the oppression, it was difficult to understand how so long an interval of time as the whole period of the 18th Dynasty could lie between him and the 'new king' whose rise seems to have been followed almost immediately by the servitude and oppression of the Hebrews. The tablets of Tel el-Amarna now show that the difficulty does not exist. Up to the death of Khu-on-Aten, the Semite had greater influence than the native in the land of Mizraim."

Referring to those who have formed opinions as to the non-historical character of the Pentateuch, Professor Sayce said :—"The Tel el-Amarna tablets have already overthrown the primary foundation on which much of this criticism has been built."

Professor Sayce closed his paper with a peroration of great eloquence as to the duty of searching for the rich libraries that must lie buried beneath the sands of Syria and Palestine, a matter the importance of which has been urged in the Victoria Institute's *Journal* more than once, especially in the last volume, presented to all its supporters. A vote of thanks was passed to Professor Sayce for his splendid Address, and to Dr. Wright for reading it. This was moved by the Lord Chancellor in a speech of great interest, in which he said there was nothing more interesting in the literary history of mankind than such discoveries as those alluded to in the Address, which he considered a perfect mine of wealth. M. Naville, the Egyptian discoverer, expressed his admiration of the labours of Professor Sayce, and declared the discovery the greatest one of the present century.

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Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. Part II. Sanskrit Literature: A. Scientific and Technical Literature. I. Grammar, Lexicography, Prosody, Music. By Julius Eggeling, PH. D., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Edinburgh. London: Printed by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. 1889.

WE have to thank Dr. Eggeling for Part II of his Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. It deals with works on scientific and technical literature, Grammar, Lexicography, Prosody, and Music; as specimens of Dr. Eggeling's method of treating his raw material, we give two quotations, chosen for their brevity, almost at haphazard.

2818. Foll. 38; size 12in. by 8 in.; fairly written, in the Devanāgarī character; fourteen lines in a page. Modern.

The same work.

The cover has the following notice:

'The golden canons' (*sootras*) of *Panini*, the prince of Sanskrit grammarians.'

[SIR C. WILKINS.]

1383e. Foll. 53; size 13 in. by 4½ in.; recent Bengālī handwriting eight lines in a page.

Kātantra vyākhyāsāra another exposition of the *Kātantra*, by *Harirāma*. The *sandhi* section. It begins:

विभुनाथपदद्वन्द्वं नत्वा गुरुपदं मया ।
तनुते हरिरामेण व्याख्यासारः समासतः ॥

ग्रन्थारम्भे शिष्टाचारपरिपालनार्थं निखिलविघ्नविघातार्थं च नमस्कुर्वन्निबध्नाति । देवदेवमितयादि ॰

The work is chiefly based on the commentaries of *Durgasimha* and *Trilocanadāsa*. Of other writers belonging to this school, he quotes *Umāpati* (foll. 4*b*, 5*b*, 8, 29*b*, 39*b*, 42, 44), *Kavirāja* (foll. 8*b*. 19*b*, 22*b*), *Kulacandra* (foll. 11), *Laghuvrittikāra* (foll. 38*b*), *Saripati* (foll. 18, 26*b*, 27*b*, 28, 34, 35, 38; *Sripatisūtra*, ? i.e. *vārttika*, 44*b*). Of other authorities quoted we may mention *Dharani* (7, 7*b*), *Medinīkāra* (7b, 51), *Ratnakosha* (29) and *Hemakāra* (50, *Hemakara*, 28).

[H. T. COLEBROOKE].

Coins. Catalogue No. 3. Sultāns of Dehlī. By Edgar Thurston, Superintendent, Madras Government Museum. Madras: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press.

MR. EDGAR THURSTON, Superintendent, Madras Government Museum, has sent us No. 3 of his Catalogues of Coins treasured in that institution—coins of the Sultans of Delhi. A seemingly meager list, which may, however, be of use to numismatists.

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Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie. By Captain L. I. Trotter, Author of "India under Victoria." London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13 Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W. 1889.

AN account of the life, career and endeavours of Lord Dalhousie, the most capable and wisely discriminative of Indian Viceroys since Warren Hastings' time, has been edited for the "Statesman series" by Mr. Lloyd Sanders. It has been well done; adequate compression not having been permitted to interfere with realities, wile sense has in no respect been made subservient to sentiment. Mr. Sanders can fairly claim praise and credit for his work.

Four famous Soldiers. Sir Charles Napier, Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, Sir William Napier, Sir Herbert Edwardes. By T. R. E. Holmes, Author of "A History of the Indian Munity." London: W. H. Allen and Co., 13, Waterloo Place. 1889.

IT cannot be held that Sir William Napier was famous as a soldier, however worthy of fame he may have been in other respects. Mr. Holmes's other three Kathputlies won renown in India; and an Anglo-Indian public is never tired of hearing about their pluck, their idiosyncrasies, and their circumventions of intrigue and red tape. These three names to conjure with are Sir Charles Napier. Hodson of Hodson's Horse, and Sir Herbert Edwardes.

In the book before us three essays are devoted to their manes, more than half the pages being consecrated to to the conqueror of Scinde, whose character evidently fulfils Mr. Holmes's ideal of the heroic, in soldiership and statesmanship alike.

Sir Charles Napier was, his biographer tells us, descended on the spindle side from King Charles the second of England, and (through that connection) from Henry the fourth of France and Navarre. From the former, probably, he derived his Radical proclivities; from the latter his bump of combativeness. In 1794, when the future conqueror of Scinde was twelve years old, a commission in the 33rd Regiment was procured for him from friends at Court. Soon after that he was transferred to the 89th, and soon after that he was sent to school at Celbridge. It appears that, while he was there, the schoolmaster struck him for some breach of school discipline of which, in his own opinion, he had not been guilty, and master Napier sulked—"shut himself up in a closet for hours, weeping and brooding over his grievance, and did not regain his equanimity for a week." Verily the boy is father of the man. When he was seventeen years old he was made aide-de-camp to Sir James Duff, commanding the Limerick district. A year afterwards he was promoted to a

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Lieutenancy in the 95th, joined his regiment at Blatchington, and there got it "borne in upon his mind that discipline is the greatest secret of war." Neverthless, when he was employed as inspecting field officer in the Ionian Islands, and when he got a letter from the General in command there inviting his attention to a regulation forbidding officers to wear moustaches, he so resented this call of discipline, that "he revenged himself by sending off the hairs, wrapped up in a parcel, to Government House." Perhaps he thought that his previous services in Spain justified this petty exhibition of spleen. He served there under Sir John Moore; and served bravely and intelligently, especially winning credit for his gallantry at Corunna, where he got shot in the leg, stabbed in the back, and taken prisoner. When well of his wounds, the prisoner was exchanged, and reached the British lines in time to take part in the battle of the Coa. At Fuentes d'Onoro he fought for the last time in the Peninsular War, after which he went home, and obtained the Lieut-Colonelcy of the 102nd. Then he went to Cephalonia, and whilst there, longed to lead the struggle for Greek independence. But hard bargaining Greek Deputies would not make it worth his while to resign his commission. "His hopes were shattered:" he married a widow, and went to Bath to settle down. Finding time hang heavily on his hands, he sought an outlet in political strife, on a Radical platform—misconception of his real character which forces even from his panegyrist the commentary, that "he was by temperament unfitted for the *rôle* of a constitutional politician: nature had formed him to enact the benevolent despot."

Sir Charles was next appointed on the Indian Staff when he was 59, "ploughed by deep wounds, and aged by toil, and love, and sorrow." Arrived at Bombay, he paid the purser of the ship that brought him there £500 as passage money; and then he had only £2 in all the world to call his own. Napier, Mr. Holmes observes midway in his exculpation of his hero from the charge of forcing a war on Scinde, "was undoubtedly eager to prove that the Ameers were guilty:" guilty, that is, of such State treasons and offences as would warrant a declaration of war against them, and annexation of their territory—and apotheosis of the "only General" of that day and generation.

Outram provokes me," said Napier in his ardour for glory, "he pities those rascals who are such atrocious tyrants, that it is virtuous to roll them over like ninepins," The story of Napier's campaign and the annexation of Scinde has been often told; but those who wish to refresh their memories on the subject may with advantage consult Mr. Holmes' account of it. He is better at description than analysis.

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Our essayist, by way of summing up, moralizes as follows about the inception of the war in Scinde, and his hero's motives and introspections in connection therewith :—

Political morality is, of all branches of ethics, the simplest to the practical statesman, the most subtle and preplexing to the anxious student, the most impracticable as taught by the doctrinaire.

Still, as Napier professed his earnest desire to avoid bloodshed, it is necessary to enquire whether the end which he had in view might not have been gained by peaceful means. It is probable that tact and patient diplomacy, supported by resolution and a calm reserve of irresistible strength, might have induced the Ameers, and even their headstrong feudatories, to submit to the inevitable. Napier was resolute to a fault : but he was no diplomatist ; and it is certain that his excessive sternness, as well as his neglect to explain the benevolence of the Governor-General's intentions, impressed the Ameers with the belief that he intended to conquer their country, and therefore led them to contemplate resistance. If it were possible to tell the whole story in a single sentence. one might say that the Ameers armed because they feared that Napier was going to attack them ; that Napier attacked them because they armed. He did try hard to effect a peaceable settlement—but not in singleness of heart : from first to last he was biassed by the longing to win a famous victory, and more, to bestow upon an oppressed people the blessings of civilisation. He neglected to inform the Governor-General how hardly the article, which provided for the cession of land to Bhawulpore, pressed upon the Ameers, until it was too late to set it right. He was certainly wrong in allowing Ali Moorad's claim to the Turban lands to pass unquestioned, and there is considerable evidence to show that this was the proximate cause of the war. Had he allowed Outram to try to prevent the Ameers of Hyderabad from making common cause with those of Khyrpore ; had he thought fit to promise that Roostum should be allowed, if he succeeded in proving his case against Ali Moorad, to recover the lands of which Ali had deprived him ; it is possible that, even at the eleventh hour, war would have been avoided. On the other hand, it is possible that concessions granted at the eleventh hour, would have been attributed by Asiatics to fear, and have been followed by further demands. And even if peace had been preserved, it might only have been for a time. For it is not unlikely that the new treaty would, in its turn, have been broken, or fresh grounds of quarrel have arisen.

Napier having been appointed Governor of the newly conquered territory, and holding in great contempt civilian intellects and capabilities, preferred promising young officers of his army to honor as judges, magistrates, collectors, and so forth. These young gentlemen being ignorant of law and the proper conduct of business, a good deal of muddle naturally ensued. However, in Mr. Holmes' opinion, "these errors did not seriously detract from the general excellence of the administration." Possibly Napier was of the same opinion. In his sixty-sixth year we find him diarizing thus :—"People write to me that I should be made Dictator of Ireland : that would be worth living for. In one year it should be the quietest country in Europe, and one of the happiest in two." Napier could not tolerate criticism on himself, and was very wroth when his masters, the Directors of the East India Company, disapproved

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of the policy he pursued in Scinde. Still more angry was he when the press assailed it. "I can tell these bucks I do not belong to the anti-duelling society, and am a devilish good shot; so if they go too far they may repent too late." So he wrote to a friend. Yet, this man, who was so impatient of criticisms on himself and his doings, was not slow to criticise others—in his own peculiar fashion. He speaks of Lord Dalhousie, for instance, as being "as weak as water"—"a little goose, quite unfit for his place."—and so on. Here is an ancedote that will bear retailing:—

He happened once to be holding a review before some Native Chiefs. Calling a young lieutenant, who was acting as his intrepreter, he gave him an elaborated explanation of the manœuvres which he intended to execute, and bade him translate it for the edification of the Chiefs. The youth deferentially saluted. "Listen, you folk," he said to the dignified visitors; "the great man says there will be a fine bit of fun." "Have you explained all I said, sir," asked Napier. "Everything, sir," was the reply. "A most comprehensive language that Hindoostanee," remarked the General, as he rode off with his nose in the air. *

Mr. Holmes prides himself on his impartiality. Perhaps it is a result of that vanity that he is fain to paint his *Kathputlies*, either sheeniest white or demoniac black. For him there is no medium. The characters he sets himself to pourtray are either made to impinge on an angelic standard or they are devils incarnate.

After the eulogy on Sir Charles Napier, the next famous soldier dealt with in his record is Hodson of Hodson's Horse. If a tenth part of the scoundrelism and savagery with which Mr. Holmes charges him is true, then it would be incumbent on honourable men to inscribe his name on a roll not of famous, but of infamous soldiers. Probabilities at any rate are against Mr. Holmes' arbitrary distribution of light and shade in Hodson's case. If he had done what he is said to have done in this arraign for the prosecution—swindled fellow-officers and charitable institutions, flagrantly, and defiantly—would his fellow officers have consorted with him, been proud to follow his lead, loved him, as they did? Mr. Holmes would have us believe that the honour accorded to Hodson by his comrades in arms, was honour accorded to his pluck, and nothing more. British officers love pluck it is true; but they love honour more. Hodson was brave, daring beyond the verge of rashness. But there were hundreds of his brother officers just as brave, quite as daring as he was—only they had not his genius, his keen eye for opportunity, his swift, sure grasp of it. If this is held to be an unwarranted contention, then must Victoria Cross records and rewards be held a sham and a snare, camp tales of comrades' derring-do a delusion.

* Hitchman's *Life of Sir Richard Burton*, vol. i. pp. 156-67.

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There was time enough before 1857 to have court-martialled Hodson half a dozen times over if there had been any case against him. It should be remembered also that, at Hodson's request, Major Reynell-Taylor, who succeeded him in the command of the Guides, audited his regimental accounts, and drew up a report fully exonerating him from all guilt.

Mr. Holmes' pages bristle with footnotes accusatory of Hodson; but they are for the most part anonymous and unsubstantiated accusations. And Hodson is dead.

In the indictment against Hodson even a graver count than that of persistent fraudulencies, is the one which charges him with slaying the King of Delhi's sons and grandsons while they were his prisoners—murdering them in sheer cold-blooded lust for bloodshed. As a matter of fact it was Hodson's desire and intention to take his prisoners to Delhi, there to be tried and hanged according to their deserts. But he had only 100 troopers with him, and between him and Humayoon's tomb whence the captives were being conveyed, there was an armed mob, set down by Mr. Holmes at 6,000 in number—a fanatical mob of men with their angry passions roused, clamourous for a rescue. Some of the boldest amongst them surged menacingly round the cart in which the Princes were being driven away. Hodson believed, and had reason to believe, that unless he slew the Princes on the spot and so overawed the mob, that mob would rescue them, and emboldened by its success would then turn upon himself and his handful of troopers. He halted the cart, therefore, and in the very teeth of enemies numerous enough to have overwhelmed him and his escort, shot the felon Princes who had mercilessly butchered European women and children. If no worse things than that had been done on our side in the Mutiny time, we should not have much to blush for; meanwhile, for people of Mr. Holmes's judicial turn of mind, Hodson serves admirably as a scapegoat. His last words to his friend Colonel Napier, almost his dying words when he knew he was dying, were—"I trust I have done my duty."

Lord Clyde honoured Hodson's funeral by his presence. Standing by the grave, tears forced themselves from the battered old warrior's eyes; and he said "I have lost one of the finest officers in the army."

Herbert Edwardes first made his mark as the writer of the "Brahminee Bull" letters in the *Delhi Gazette*; a paper at the time occupying much the same position that the *Pioneer* does in our time. The letters were in effect brightly written essays on the military, political, and social aspects of Anglo-Indian life and conduct. Although their authorship was soon an open secret, that authorship seems to have helped rather

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than hindered Edwardes' career. Shortly before the first Sikh War broke out, he was appointed aide-de-camp to Sir Hugh Gough, then Commander-in-chief; and he fought at Moodkee and Sobraon, in the former of which battles he was wounded. Then he was for a short time Private Secretary to Sir Henry Lawrence; then a diplomatic envoy to Cashmere. After satisfactorily accomplishing the objects aimed at in this mission, he was sent in command of a Sikh force to Bunnoo, to collect tribute, payment of which had long been evaded. It was, says Mr. Holmes, an undertaking of extreme difficulty—"The Afghans are the most depraved of Asiatics, and of all the Afghan tribes the Bunnooches were the worst." The understanding did not prove to be one of "extreme difficulty." The Bunnoochees were reduced to submission in three months without any expenditure of gunpowder, or any need for recourse to the bayonet. But Edwardes was not satisfied with mere conquest. He founded a town: he made a road through the trackless valley: he encouraged agriculture; he planned canals: above all, he taught disputants between whom the knife had hitherto been the only arbiter, to respect the authority of the law, All this he achieved without firing a single shot.

After the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson in 1848, Herbert Edwardes thrashed Moolraj's army with such raw levies of troops as he could get together for the emergency, gaving striking proofs of undoubted military genius, and won what Mr. Holmes styles "the Waterloo of the Punjab."

In 1849, after a serious illness, the result of campaigning hardships and privations, Edwardes went home on furlough. He received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament and the emphatic commendation of the Duke of Wellington: the Court of Directors decorated him with a special gold medal; Oxford bestowed upon him her highest honorary degree: and dinners were given and speeches were made in his honour. "I feel afraid," he wroted to his dear friend, Cowley Powles, "of some great evil overtaking me after all this pride and adulation. It is not wholesome; but I must try and think large quantities of salt to season it." If, however, there was any chance of his being spoiled by prosperity, he had an effectual antidote. On the 9th of July he was married to Emma Sidney, whom he had first met when a lad at Richmond, and had ever since faithfully loved.

His health recruited, and accompained by his "effectual antidote," Edwardes sailed for India again in March 1857, and was on his arrival sent as Deputy Commissioner to Jullundur, thence transferred to Hazara for a short time, and, on the

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assassination of Colonel Mackeson, was appointed to the Commissionership of the Peshawur Division. He was only 34 at the time. Good fortune very often follows good deserts; and he proved himself more than competent for his new office. He may in particular claim the credit of having invented the plan of blockading marauding hill tribes; a plan the efficacy of which time has proved. The following is an account of the initial experiment and its results:—

'It happened that a native ambassador, despatched by Edwardes, was travelling through the Khyber Pass on his way to Cabul, when a man belonging to the Sheranee tribe fired at him, but missed. The assassin escaped; and the ambassador wrote to Edwardes to complain of the outrage which had been offered him. As the tribesmen refused to give up the offender, Edwardes ordered that they should be put under blockade. At the end of a year, the punishment having become unendurable, they sent a greybeard to Peshawur to propose terms of accommodation. Shown into the presence of the Commissioner, the old man offered the humblest apologies on behalf of his tribe. Edwardes, mentally resolving that the best way of settling the question would be to impose a fine, asked how many matchlockmen the Sheranees could turn out in case of need. Eager to magnify the power of his tribe and to propitiate the Commissioner, the greybeard mendaciously replied that a thousand men would always be ready to serve the British Government. Edwardes promptly informed him that the tribe should be pardoned if each of the thousand paid a fine of one rupee. Disgusted at his own indiscretion, the greybeard withdrew; and the fine was paid.

'Although the story of Herbert Edwardes' career before 1857 lacks neither fateful incidents nor interesting developments of character, yet for most of us, probably, its main interest will centre in the story of the part played by him when the Mutiny broke out. His bold disarmament of the native garrison of Peshawar, his coolness, his indomitable courage, his readiness of resource stood his country in good stead in those dark days. As to the policy proper to be pursued, Edwardes and his Chief, John Lawrence, differed. The former wanted Punjab troops sent to strengthen the position at Peshawur; the latter, far from giving aid in that direction, desired troops from Peshawur to strengthen his attack upon Delhi. Edwardes had made up his mind to have Delhi relieved at all hazards and at any cost. He regarded the capital of the Moguls as the focus of rebellion, a vital head centre of Empire, possession of which was indispensable.

'In 1859 Edwardes went home again on furlough. While at home he was invited to stand for Parliament as member for Glasgow—whether as conservative, liberal, or radical, we are not told. Deciding however, that he had no call to Parliamentary work, he declined the invitation; and having been offered the post of Commissioner of Umbala sailed for India for the last time in January 1862, and, on arrival, realized

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that "the old order changeth giving place to new." As his biographer puts it—

Edwardes had had only a short experience of his new work when he found that the spirit of Anglo-Indian administration had undergone a change, which robbed his public life of all its charm. In the old days he and his colleagues had been comparatively free. Much had been left to their own discretion; and the sense of responsibility had happily stimulated their self-reliance. They had worked with all the more zest, because they had felt free to use all their faculties for good without restraint. But now, in the evolution of the administrative sytem, the era of Individualism had been succeeded by that of Centralisation. The sense of power was gone. Each public servant felt himself to be only a portion of a great machine. To some degree, however, Edwardes was able to make his influence felt outside the range of his official routine.

Here is a suggestive extract for students of character :—

Edwardes had had his full share of honours and rewards. He had received a good service pension; and he had been made an honorary Doctor of the University of Cambridge, a Knight Commander of the Bath, and a Knight Commander of the Star of India. But he had one sore disappointment to endure. The service to which he proudly looked back as the most important that he had ever been permitted to render to the country, was the securing of the friendship of Dost Mahomed by the treaties of 1855 and 1857. During the Mutiny, the value of these treaties had been proved; and even John Lawrence, who had opposed them, grudgingly admitted it. But Edwardes never received the credit to which his statesmanship had entitled him: by the world at large it was believed that John Lawrence, who had only signed the treaties, had been their actual author. It was owing to the generosity of Edwardes that this mistake had arisen; and while, as he confessed, he could not help repining at being deprived of his fair share of fame, it grieved him to think that the old friend whose many great qualities he so heartily admired, was not generous enough to place the facts in their true light, and to give honour where honour was due.

A History of Civilization in Ancient India, based on Sanskrit Literature. By Romesh Chunder Dutt, of the Bengal Civil Service and of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law, &c. &c In 3 vols: Vol. I, Vedic and Epic Ages. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1889.

THE work, the title of which appears at the head of this notice, is a valuable contribution to Anglo Indian literature. Foreign scholars have done a great deal to bring the literature of the Ancient Aryans to the knowledge of this busy age. It is time Indian scholars should take up this great work. It is a pity Mr. Dutt does not derive the matter of his book entirely from original Sanskrit works. But we are almost disposed to overlook this shortcoming for the able manner in which he has performed his difficult and self-imposed task. Our author has, however, fully acknowledged his indebtedness to the works of the various scholars who have

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devoted their life time to the study of Indian literature and antiquities. This is what he says in his preface :—

In undertaking this great work, I must, once for all, disclaim any intention to make any new discoveries, or to extend in any way the limits of oriental scholarship and research. My limited knowledge of the subject precludes the possibility of such a pretention being advanced, and the limits of the present work make it impossible that any such results should be achieved. I have simply tried to string together, in a methodical order, the results of the labours of abler scholars, in order to produce a readable work for the general reader. If, in the fulfilment of this design, I have been sometimes betrayed into conjectures and suppositions, I can only ask my readers to accept them as such,—not as historical discoveries.

Mr. Dutt's style is clear and chaste. The matter of his book is equally unexceptionable, being the quintessence of the labors of able writers, European and Indian, who have preceded him, its chief characteristic being an entire freedom from controversial topics. Facts regarding ancient Hindus and their literature and civilization are being gradually unearthed, and any Indian writer who will present them in an attractive form to the English-reading public, will do a signal service to his people. Mr. Dutt has, we think, done this with success, and we have no doubt his book will be welcomed in England and on the continent by every well-wisher of the Hindus.

The work is, to a great extent, a *rechauffé* of the writer's own researches in the Rig Vedic literature. It is perhaps not unknown to the readers of this *Review*, that Mr. Dutt has been labouring in this mine for some years past, and that he has enriched the Bengali language by a complete translation into that language of the Rig Veda Sanhitá, which was published three years ago under the patronage of the Government of Sir Rivers Thompson. From time to time he has also published in the pages of this Review papers on the civilization of the Hindus in the Vedic period, and these, together with other materials since collected, have been embodied in the present volume. It is gratifying to see that though "the charge of a Bengal District with an area of over six thousand square miles and a population of over three millions" leaves our author little leisure for other work, he has succeeded in presenting the general reader with a reliable and concise history of ancient civilization in India

The introduction deals with the settlement of the various epochs and dates in the thirty centuries covered by the history of Ancient India. The whole period has been divided into the following epochs : (1) the *Vedic* period (2000—1400 B.C.) ; (2 the epic period (1400—1000 B.C.) ; (3) the philosophical period (1000—242 B.C.) ; (4) the Buddhist period (242 B.C.—500 A.D); and (5) the Paurânick period 500 A.D.—1194 A.D.)

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The volume before us, the first of a series of three, deals with the first two of these five periods only, *viz.*, the vedic and the epic, bringing down the history of Ancient India to 1000 B.C. Taking the immigration of the Aryans as the starting point, the literature, agriculture and commerce, arts of peace and war, social and domestic life and religion of the Ancient Aryans, are all treated exhaustively in the several chapters of the first book. The second book, comprising the epic period, narrates the history of the Kurus and Panchálas, the Videhas, Kosalas and Kásis. Facts about the non-Aryan tribes, about whom little is known, have been brought out with distinctness. The origin of caste and the sacrificial rites and legends of the Brahmans, and their progress in learning, are all treated of in their turn, the closing chapter, the most thoughtful in the whole volume, dealing with the religious and philosophical speculations of the *Upanishads*. There was but little left to say of the Upanishads after the admirable series of papers on the *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, contributed to the pages of this Review by Mr. Archibald Gough, and since reprinted in Messrs. Trübner's Oriental Series.

How far the mind of our author is saturated with western thoughts is amply illustrated by the fact, that he refers the the composition of the *Mahábhárata* to a period anterior to that of the *Rámáyana*. This theory, if we mistake not, was first propounded by Mr. Talboys Wheeler. We find Mr Dutt supporting it by the fact, that we find references to the *Mahábhárata* in the *Sutra* literature, but we find no such references to the *Rámáyana* (p. 209). But these references, like many others, may be later interpolations, and the archaic simplicity of the style of the *Rámáyana*, coupled with the fact that we find in it no account of the Aryan civilization south of the Vindhyas, support the orthodox theory of the priority of its composition. In the *Mahabhárata* we find the Hindus in the glory of their civilization, and its very style bears internal evidence of its composition at a later period.

Following the authority of Weber, Max Müller and Roth, our author holds that the caste system did not exist in the vedic age, when the Aryans were a united body. In the epic age, however, priests and kings separated themselves as distinct castes, and the next two orders were the Vaisyas and Sudras, forming the lower stratum of society.

The chapter on social and domestic life is peculiarly interesting in this transition state of Hindu society. In the latter part of it, dealing with the position of women in the vedic times, we meet with some curious facts. We find the picture of the cultured lady *Visvavará*, herself a Rishi, who composed hymns and performed sacrifices. We find the first

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germ of the Svayamvara system, and there are verses which shew that the custom of early marriage was unknown. There is one remarkable verse which clearly sanctions the remarriage of widows, and there is another foreshadowing the law of adoption of later days.

It is a matter of common regret that Hindu youths are wofully ignorant of the history of their own people. The fault, we venture to think, is not entirely theirs. The choice of books for the University Examinations has much to answer for it. We are clearly of opinion that Mr. Dutt's book will form a very useful addition to the Entrance or F. A. Course. It will familiarize the minds of the rising generation of the youth of this country with facts in their national history worth remembering in after life. We throw out this hint for the consideration of the Educational authorities.

Colburn's United Service Magazine, with which is incorporated the Army and Navy Magazine. For July 1889. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, S. W.

THOSE who are unacquainted with the constitution and working of the Royal Irish constabulary force may find a concise account of it in *Colburn's United Service Magazine* for July. Mr. T. R E. Holmes has contributed a sketch of Father Damien's life and labours, bearing testimony to the supreme Christian virtue of the nineteenth century Christian who meekly took up his Master's cross, and bearing it and its consolations to a Gehenna whereto no Missionary before him had dared venture, bore it cheerfully and manfully to the end—enduring much, doing much. Joseph Damien de Veuster was born near Louvain in Belgium, on the 3rd of January 1841. While a child he dreamed of being a priest; and afterwards forget the dream and its fit interpretation till he was 19 years old. Then, "in an instant," he made up his mind to be a cleric; afterwards, with more deliberation, to be a Missionary. He was, when he had completed his studies, sent to labour in the islands of the Southern Pacific.

As to Father Damien's manner of life at Molokai, we cannot do better than quote Mr. Holmes's own account of it:—

> Year after year he worked on, turning his hand to every useful labour, cheering the living, consoling the dying, spending with wise economy, accounting for all that he spent with business-like precision, welcoming stray visitors with simple, genial courtesy. All this time he expected that he would sooner or later catch the disease. The doctor twice examined him. The second time he said: "I can hardly bear to tell you; but what you say is true."
>
> "It is no shock to me," replied Damien, for I have long felt sure of it,"
>
> There were still three or four years more of usefulness to run. Now, too, he was beginning to see the fruit of his labours. Fired by his example

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men, and women too, were coming to help him ; so after his death the lepers would not be friendless. When, a few months ago, Mr. Clifford visited the island, instead of the hell upon earth which he had steeled himself to look upon, he found cheerful faces everywhere, and the man who had worked this miracle, whose turn must soon come to die, able to joke on the havoc which had been wrought in his appearance by the loathsome disease.

The rest is soon told. The fell disease wrought its fatal work, and so passed away the brave Belgian priest who passed the best years of his life, cut off from civilization and its amenities in a loathsome Lazar house, assuaging the sufferings and improving the spiritual and temporal condition of the unfortunate lepers at Molokoi.

ACKNOWDLEGMENTS.

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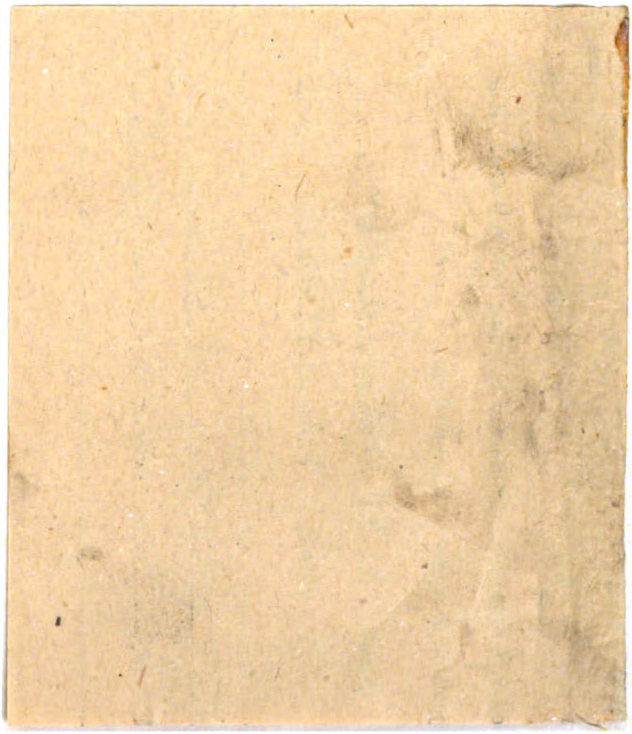

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